













2 ACCOUNTS OF INDIA AND KASHMIR  
IN THE DYNASTIC HISTORIES  
OF THE T'ANG PERIOD

NARAYAN CHANDRA SEN

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SANTINIKETAN







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OF THE T'ANG PERIOD

Translated and Annotated  
with Introduction

By

NARAYAN CHANDRA SEN

VISVA - BHARATI  
SANTINIKETAN

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## Preface

The present Monograph is a part of my research project: "India in Chinese Dynastic Histories". A complete translation of all the records on India in Chinese Dynastic Histories will, it is hoped, help the scholars in Indian history. It cannot be claimed, however, that the translations made in this Monograph are perfect. I have tried to be faithful to the original texts as far as possible. How far I have succeeded in my attempt is to be judged by the experts in this field. Any suggestion in this regard will be welcome and duly acknowledged. It is also hoped that the experts on Indian history after going through this Monograph will help me in identifying the places and names of some Indian Kings and monks still unidentified.

The suggestion of publishing this work in a Monograph form came first from Dr. Kalidas Bhattacharya, the present Vice-chancellor of Visva-Bharati University. He was instrumental in providing necessary funds for its publication from the Visva-Bharati Research Publications Fund. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to him.

In preparing this Monograph, I have received guidance from Prof. Tan Yun-shan, Director of Visva-Bharati Cheena-Bhavana, and Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of Visva-Bharati. I have also received great assistance from my colleagues Dr. Wei Kwei-sun, Reader in Chinese Studies, Dr. A. N. Tagore (at present Associate Professor of Chinese at Oakland University, U.S.A.) and Dr. Jan Yun-hua (at present Assistant Professor of Chinese Religion at McMaster University, Canada). Dr. K. Venkata Ramanan also made valuable suggestions in the presentation of this Monograph. My esteemed friend Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu of the Department of History, Visva-Bharati, corrected the first draft of the Monograph. Mr. J. N. Ganhar, co-author of *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh* very kindly went through the galley proofs and corrected some expressions and terminologies in English. To all of them I offer my deepest gratitude and thanks.

I am also thankful to my wife Namita, who has prepared the Index of this Monograph.

Mr. Sourin Das Gupta of the Reproduction Syndicate, Calcutta, took much pains and meticulous care in preparing the blocks of Chinese texts appearing in the Appendix. To him also I offer my sincere thanks. My thanks are also due to Navana Printing Works, Calcutta.

Santiniketan  
May, 1967

Narayan Chandra Sen



# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHB	Ch'ing-Hua Hsüeh-pao
CHCTSL	<i>Chung-Hsi Chung-Hsi Chiao-t'ung Shih-liao Hui-pien</i>
CKTMT	<i>Chung-kuo Ti-ming Ta Tz'u-tien</i>
CTS	<i>Chiu T'ang Shu</i>
HTS	<i>Hsin T'ang Shu</i>
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta
Life	<i>The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang</i> , translated by S. Beal
Pelliot	"Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde a la fin VIIIe Siecle", Chinese edn. translated by Feng Ch'eng-chün
PN	Po Na
SCC	<i>Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu</i>
SIS	Sino-Indian Studies, Calcutta.
SPPY	Szu-pu Pei-yao
THY	T'ang Hui-yao
TP	T'oung Pao
TT	T'ung Tien
Watter	<i>On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India</i>



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## I. INTRODUCTION

### I. OUR SOURCES : *THE HSIN T'ANG SHU* AND THE *CHIU T'ANG SHU*

The Chinese Dynastic Histories provide valuable material on social economic and political conditions of India as well as her relations with neighbouring countries. These sources have been utilised and translated in part by some Western scholars like M. S. Julien, Sylvain Lévi, Ed. Chavannes, M. Paul Pelliot, and by the Indian scholar P. C. Bagchi.

It was during the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) that political, cultural, religious and commercial contacts between India and China became more close and intimate. The frequent mutual visits of Indian and Chinese Buddhist monks to each other's country have proved to be of great benefit in tracing our past history through the accounts written by some of them. But for Hsüan Chuang's and Yi Tsing's travel records many aspects of Indian history of this period would have remained completely unknown to us. Fa Hsien's record of India is also valuable for the same reason.

The Chinese people, being keen on keeping historical records, have recorded in the history of their different dynasties not only matters relating their own country, but also those of the countries they came to know about through travellers or hearsay. Historiography developed in China long before the beginning of the Christian era. The records of a ruler's deeds and actions, to which he had no access, were meant to be followed by his successors and also "for the approval or condemnation of posterity".<sup>1</sup> Thus objectivity was maintained and there are instances where the official historians preferred punishment of an extreme kind to submission to the emperor who violated the tradition of non-interference with the records of the histories. The integrity of these historians is beyond question. Understanding of this basic factor will enable us to assess correctly the value of the histories written by the Chinese historians.

Since the sources of their records of foreign countries were travel accounts of merchants, emissaries and monks or hearsay, such records cannot be as authentic as those concerning the records about the events and conditions in their own country. Therefore, in dealing with these records we have to be cautious in distinguishing the facts observed from the things which were mere hearsay.

A survey of the records in Chinese Dynastic Histories shows that in the first or second centuries of the Christian era the Chinese historians had precious little information about India. But reference to Kāñchipura

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on Chinese historiography see "Historians of China and Japan", edited by W. C. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank, Oxford University Press, 1961; and Ch. XIX of "Sources of Chinese Tradition", published by Columbia University Press, New York, 1960.



in the History of the Former Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-A.D. 23), and to Bengal and Tāmralīptī in the History of the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) prove the fact of China's early contact with these places.<sup>2</sup> The History of the Former Han Dynasty also records an account of *Ki-pin* or Kashmir.

In the Chinese Dynastic Histories two works deal with the T'ang period. These are: *Chiu T'ang Shu* or the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty, and *Hsin T'ang Shu* or the New History of the T'ang Dynasty. From the historical point of view the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, compiled by Liu Hsü (887-946) and others is more important than the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, compiled by Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1070). But this does not minimise the importance of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* as a source material for research in Indian history and Sino-Indian contact. Both throw valuable light on the history of India during the T'ang period about which no record is to be found other than those in the Chinese language. But language has proved a stumbling block and by keeping these records beyond the reach of the Indian historians has disabled them from making objective studies and observations. Moreover, these records in Chinese language have not been fully translated, as a result of which some misconceptions and controversies have cropped in the minds of Indian historians. Of course, in history some facts not corroborated by documentary evidence of any kind shall always remain controversial. But, some points of doubt may be clarified by knitting the threads collected from historical records in different languages. The 'net' thus woven will enable us to bring to light the past that has sunk into oblivion.

## 2. HARSHA-VARDHANA AND THE CHINESE EMPEROR

Accounts of India in both *Chiu T'ang Shu* and *Hsin T'ang Shu* supply us some valuable information about Harsha-var dhana and India during his time and after him. We come to know about the prowess of this great Indian king. From A.D. 618 to 641 i.e. for more than twenty years he had to exert himself in order to consolidate his power and the extent of his authority, his accession to the throne of Magadha was not an easy job. Of course, these records do not say how far Harsha-var dhana's authority extended; they say that "his authority extended far".

It is also revealed in these records that Harsha was apprehending an equally strong power to dethrone him or challenge his authority. That is why immediately after assuming the title "King of Magadha", he sent an embassy with gifts to the emperor of China seeking his help in case of necessity.<sup>3</sup> In response to this request of Harsha, the Chinese emperor T'ai

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Chang Hsing-lang identifies *Huang-Chih-kuo* with Kāñchīpura; *Pan-k'i* with *Banga* (Bengal), and *Tung-li-kuo* with *Tamluka*. See CHCTS, Vol. 6, pp. 39, 40 and 42 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. K. M. Panikkar says, "He (Harsha-var dhana) even maintained friendly relations with the emperor of China, probably as a counterpoise to the friendship that Pulikeśin cultivated with the king of Persia." See his book entitled "Shri Harsha of Kānauj", Bombay, 1922, p. 34.



Tsung expressed his sympathy through his envoy Liang Huai-ching who was sent to the court of Harsha-var dhana. The *Chiu T'ang Shu* mentions this embassy, but does not mention the name of the envoy. The *Hsin T'ang Shu*, on the other hand, mentions Liang as an envoy.

M. S. Julien's translation of Ma Tuan-lin's history does not represent the true attitude expressed by the Chinese emperor towards Harsha-var dhana. It may be stated here that Ma Tuan-lin—a thirteenth century historian—got his source material on T'ang history mainly from the *Chiu T'ang Shu* and the *Hsin T'ang Shu*. Julien's version reads as follows:

"In the fifteenth year of the Ching-kwan period (641), Siladitya assumed the title of King of Mo-kie-tho (Magadha), and sent an ambassador with a letter to the Emperor. This monarch ordered Liang-hoai-king, under the title of Yuan-ki-wei to go to him furnished with an imperial brevet, and to invite him to submission..."<sup>4</sup>

The original source, however, does not say that Śīlāditya was invited "to submit (to the authority of the Chinese emperor)".<sup>5</sup> The *Chiu T'ang Shu* says. "T'ai Tsung in return sent an imperial letter pacifying (Shih-lo-yi-to)". Though we have not in our possession the letters exchanged between the rulers of these two great empires, these records prove the fact that the Chinese emperor had a friendly attitude toward Harsha-var dhana and that he agreed to extend his help whenever necessary. Of course, he might have had the air of "The Supreme Ruler of the Universe" in dealing with the rulers of the "barbarian" countries.

### 3. WANG HSÜAN-TS'E'S INDIAN CAMPAIGN

Exchange of envoys between the T'ang Court and Harsha-var dhana made Harsha's position more stable. The friendship thus attained was also widely known by the kings of other parts of India as well as foreign rulers who had an eye on the territory of India. Therefore, after Harsha-var dhana's death Ah-lo-na-hsün, who is said to have usurped the throne of Harsha-var dhana, on getting the news of the coming visit of Wang Hsüan-ts'e immediately sent an army to oppose him. The consequences are well known.

Some of the Western scholars in dealing with the records in this matter have described Ah-lo-na-hsün as a "minister" of Harsha-var dhana. The Chinese word *ch'en* 臣 is to be translated here as "vassal" or "subject". The inscriptions on Ah-lo-na-hsün's statue describe him as:

"The Brahmin King of Ti-na-fu-ti kingdom Ah-lo-na-hsün".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Indian Antiquary, vol. 9, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> "The History and Culture of the Indian People," vol. 3, p. 120, quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

<sup>6</sup> CHUB, December 1933, p. 26.



It then leads us to conclude that Ah-lo-na-hsün was the king of a country which was a vassal state under Harsha-var dhana, and the presence of an embassy of a powerful country like China and friendly to Harsha-var dhana was unwelcome to the usurper of his throne, Ah-lo-na-hsün.

The two histories dealt with here mention that Wang Hsüan-ts'e was on the way to India in A.D. 648 with only thirty cavalry. The Chinese emperor did not then receive the news of the death of Harsha-var dhana. Hsüan-ts'e's mission was definitely a friendly mission. But why did he then collect soldiers from adjoining countries—Tibet and Nepal—and invade the capital of Middle India? It was Ah-lo-na-hsün's action that caused Hsüan-ts'e to start a military campaign and invade India.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the record of Wang Hsüan-ts'e has little historical value. He takes it as a "great marvel" or "like a romance or a string of fables than sober history." Dr. Majumdar's view of Wang Hsüan-ts'e's mission is based on the incomplete translation of the relevant material by Sylvain Lévi and others.

Dr. Majumdar says, "... it is interesting to note that the scene is laid in Nepal border of North Bihar and not anywhere near Kanauj, the capital of Harsha." *Ch'a-pu-ho-lo* which is mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* as the city besieged has been identified with Davaka (in Nowgong) by S. Lévi, and Dr. Majumdar's argument is based on this identification. But, Prof. Chang Hsing-lang points out that *Ch'a-pu-ho-lo* is situated to the north-west of Kanauj—82° longitude and about 28° latitude<sup>8</sup>

Basing his observation on discussions of the subject by Prof. S. Lévi, Ed. Chavannes and Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Majumdar made a 'sum up' by saying that "The latter (Ah-lo-na-hsün) remained in China till his death and was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of the Chinese emperor T'ai Tsung."<sup>9</sup> Dr. Majumdar after making this summing up makes the pertinent observation: "It is equally difficult to account for the posthumous honours shown to the rebellious Indian ruler, guilty of wanton violence against the Chinese ambassador."

In fact, Ah-lo-na-hsün's statue was not placed under the gate of the tomb of emperor T'ai Tsung as a mark of any honour. It was rather a display of the victory considered very significant by the Chinese emperor and his ministers. It may be pointed out here that Ah-lo-na-hsün's statue was placed there along with the statues of Srong-btsan Sgam-po and the rulers of Kucha and *Kao-ch'ang* (Turfan). Instances of such display of statues of the

<sup>7</sup> All the quotations from Dr. Majumdar are to be found in chapters ix and x of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana.

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Chang Hsing-lang's identification is based on a map drawn by the Japanese cartographer Ishi Zawa.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes, "The Indian usurper, Arunasva (?) remained in China till his death and was given posthumous honours. His statue was set up by the side of the statues of king Srongbtsan Sgam-po and those of the kings of Kucha, Turfan etc. The statue was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of Emperor T'ai-tsung." See *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 69.



defeated rulers or chiefs are to be found in Chinese history. Ah-lo-na-hsün, whoever he might be, faced a fate as was generally meted to any prisoner of war. He was not an exception to this. At least there is no record either in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* or in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* to show that any honour was conferred on Ah-lo-na-hsün.

Further, it may be explained here that the fact that Wang Hsüan-ts'e "won an easy and complete victory" over "the great king who sat on Harsha's throne" became possible by the fact, to quote Dr. Majumdar's own words, "that Harsha's death was followed by political disintegration and rise of ambitious chiefs who scrambled for the inheritance of the vast empire left without any strong or legitimate heir." As such, Ah-lo-na-hsün did not get the full support either from the army of the late king or from the rulers of the adjoining kingdoms including the chiefs of the vassal states who submitted to Harsha-var dhana but defied his successor—an usurper of the throne.

Wang Hsüan-ts'e's invasion is not accepted by some scholars on the ground that "It remains uncorroborated from any Tibetan source," and that it finds "no mention in any Napalese record" too.<sup>10</sup> It may be pointed out here that "The Red Annals" (Deb-ther dMar-po), composed by Mi'i bdag-po Kun-dga'rdo-rJe in 1346<sup>11</sup> has the following statement:

"T'ai Tsung sent an envoy to India. That Magadha was to be conquered was heard by the Tibetans, who then sent soldiers and Magadha was conquered."<sup>12</sup>

But, "The Blue Annals" (Deb-ther snon-po), composed by Gos lo-tsa-ba gZon-nu-dpal between 1476 and 1478 A.D. does not mention any such event.<sup>13</sup> \*

#### 4. THE IDENTIFICATION OF KI-PIN

According to Dr. P. C. Bagchi the identification of *Ki-pin* (modern pronunciation Chi-pin) "is of great importance for the history of the Śaka period of Indian History."<sup>14</sup> A question may rightly be asked as to why the accounts of *Ki-pin* are included in our translation when, according to some scholars, it is more or less an established fact that coming to the T'ang

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya: "Early History of North India (200 B.C.—A.D. 650)." Dr. Chattopadhyaya's view is based on L. Petech's "A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh."

<sup>11</sup> See "The Blue Annals" edited and translated by G. N. Roerich.

<sup>12</sup> This quotation is to be found in the Tibetan version of "The Red Annals" printed and published by the Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, 1961. This particular portion has been translated with the help of Prof. C. R. Lama of the Department of Indo-Tibetan Studies, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.

<sup>13</sup> See G. N. Roerich's translation of "The Blue Annals".

\* See Additional Notes.

<sup>14</sup> Sino-Indian Studies, vol. 3, part I, p. 43.



period *Ki-pin* was being referred not to Kashmir but to Kapiśā. But I think the controversy in regard to the identification of the country of *Ki-pin* as recorded in the T'ang Annals should also be kept open for further discussion and research.

It was Prof. Sylvain Lévi who first disassociated the name *Ki-pin* from Kashmir during the T'ang period. Ed. Chavannes supported his views and said, "From the period of the Han to that of Northern Wei, the name Chi-pin applies only and always to Kashmir, as proved in several ways by the travels of the Buddhist pilgrims. It is only in the T'ang period that the name Chi-pin is rather unhappily connected with the name Kapiśā, and serves henceforward to indicate this last country."<sup>15</sup> Pelliot also holds the same view.

After quoting various Chinese records—biographical accounts of Indian and Chinese monks, geographical and historical texts and translation of Buddhist texts in Chinese—Dr. Bagchi came to this conclusion: "From the beginning of the 7th century the Chinese official records begin to distinguish *Ki-pin* from Kashmir and locate it in Afganistan. The reason of this confusion is not quite clear. It seems that the name of Kashmir began to be transliterated more faithfully as *Kia-she-mi-lo*. Hiuan-tsang also gives this transliteration but he was evidently following as established custom. The pronunciation of Chinese characters had also considerably changed since early times and it was impossible to recognise Kasmir in *Ki-pin* in the 7th century. It was therefore thrust upon the name of Kapisa (*Kia-pi-she*), a country which had then attained political ascendancy. From the account of Hiuan-tsang we know that all kingdoms from Bamiyan up to Gandhara were dependencies of Kapisa in this period ... It is therefore quite clear that *Ki-pin* mentioned in the Annals of the two Han dynasties and those of other dynasties up to the advent of the Sui in 581 and other contemporary records was identical with Kashmir. *Ki-pin* of the Sui and T'ang periods (581-907) is identical with *Kia-pi-she* i.e. Kapisa".<sup>16</sup>

I translate here Prof. Chang Hsing-lang's note about *Ki-pin*. He writes:

"The country of *Ki-pin* is the modern *K'e-shih-mi-erh* (Kashmir) or *Kia-shih-mi-lo* during the T'ang period, according to Hsüan Chuang's *Hsi Yü Chi* (Records of Western Countries). In Prakrit language it is called *Ki-shih-mi-lo* or *K'e-see-wei-la* (*Kasvira*). Ptolemy's Geography erroneously writes it as Kaspeiria; its territory is extended up to Daradrai on the west (modern Dards) and to Kylindrine (now the land of Kulinda tribes on the banks of the Bias river) on the east. This is evidently the modern Kashmir. Dionysios writes it as Kasperoi, Herodotus writes it as Kaspattyros.

"The ancient people of China abbreviated the transliterated forms; as for example, (the name of) Kanishka is written in Fa Hsien's *Records of*

<sup>15</sup> See SCC, p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> See Sino-Indian Studies, vol. 2, Part I, pp. 52-53.



*Buddhist Countries* as *Kia-ni-kia* discarding the sound 'sh' in the middle; King *Ah-shu-kia* (Aśoka) is written as King *Ah-yü* discarding the last syllable 'ka', the Ansaka dynasty of Persia is referred to in *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* as *An-hsi* discarding the last syllable 'ka'. It can thus be deduced from these examples that the original sound of *Ki-pin* must have been derived from Kaspeiria by the abbreviated-transliterated method. There cannot be any doubt about it.

"The old traditions of Buddhist scriptures, viz. the Fourth Chapter of the Life of King Aśoka and the Ninth Chapter of *Ta-chih Tu-lun* all transliterate the Sanskrit word Kashmira as *Ki-pin*. Sometimes it is also written as *Kia-shih-mi-lo*. In the history of China the name *Ki-pin* mostly indicated *Kia-shih-mi-lo* alone, but the lands of Wu-chang-na (Udyāna), *Chien-t'u-lo* (Gandhāra), *Kia-pi-shih* (Kapiśā), *Na-kie-lo* (Nagarakota) were also included in *Kia-shih-mi-lo* and also called as *Ki-pin*. During the Former Han period *Ki-pin* included the three lands of *Kia-shih-mi-lo*, *Chien-t'u-lo* and *Kia-pi-shih*.

"The city of *Hsün-hsien* is the abbreviated transliteration of the Sanskrit word *Sudarsana-pura*. The accounts of *Ki-pin* in fascicle 102 of the History of Wei says, 'The capital *Shan-chien* city is in the south-west of *Po-lu*'. *Shan-chien* is the translation of *Sudarsana-pura*. The records of *Ki-pin* in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says, 'The King dwells in the Hsiu-hsien city'. The commentaries in *Ti-li Chih* (Geographical Records) says, 'The Viceroy of the capital Hsiu-hsien established the city of O-ko in *Ki-pin*'. The record of Kashmir in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says, 'The King governs the city of *Po-lo-wu-lo-pu-lo*, which lies on the western bank of the river *Mi-na-hsi-to*'. *Po-lo-wu-lo-pu-lo* is the transliteration of the Sanskrit word *Pravara-pura*, which was constructed by Pravarasena II. The west of the city is the *Mi-na-hsi-to* river, i.e. the River Vitastā.

"Hsüan Chuang's *Records of Western Countries* does not mention the name of the capital of Kashmir. *Chüan* 125 of Abhidharma-mahāvibhāsa names the principal seat of its King as *Pi-lo-t'o* (Bhiratha in Sanskrit). Al Biruni's *Records of India* calls the chief seat of its government as *Ah-ti-ssu-tan* (Adhistana in Sanskrit), which signifies the chief seat and not the name of a definite place. Adhistana was in the south-east of the Volur lake—the present site of Śrinagar city, constructed by Pravarasena II and therefore known as *Pravara-pura*. (The term) *Pu-ra*, now transcribed as *Pu-la*, means town or city in Chinese. This became the New Capital.

"The city built by King Aśoka in the third century B.C. became the Old Capital. What is called in Sanskrit as *Puranadhistana*, in Chinese it means Old Capital. This became the modern Pandrethan (34/74.55). The New Capital is three English miles south of Śrinagara. The city of *Hsün-hsien* as mentioned in the History of the Han Dynasty, is probably the Old Capital built by King Aśoka".<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> CHCTSL, pp. 34-35,



Sylvain Lévi and Ed. Chavannes identify *Po-lo-wu-lo-pu-lo* as Baramulapura. But Sir M. A. Stein says:

“There are, however, serious difficulties in the way of this identification. In the first place it must be noted that neither the old name Varahamula nor its modern derivation Varamul (Baramula) is ever found combined with the termination—pura. The town has received its name from the site which it occupies...

“As in the case of many Kacmirian tirthas, the name of the sacred site is used also for the designation of the town which has sprung up near it, and in this sense we find the name Varahamula, without the addition of—pura, used in Rajat. Vii, 1309, Viii, 451.1229; Crivara, 1.323.568; Prajyabhatta....

“The earliest mention of Pravarasena’s city is found, however, in the notice of the Chinese Annals, in whose *Po-lo-ou-lo-pou-lo* we cannot fail to recognize now an exact transcription of the name Pravarapura. Po-lo, lo and pou are regular representatives of the Sanskrit aksaras pra, ra and pu, respectively; ... The character 𑖦 is transcribed by Messrs Lévi and Chavannes as *ou* and by Stan. Julien as *wou*. To attribute to it the value *va* in the transcription of our name seems scarcely hazardous considering that the same character is used in contraction with *li* (an ordinary representation of Skt. r, no. 813) to express the Skt. aksara vr; ...”<sup>18</sup>

Dr. L. Petech has reconsidered the whole problem in an appendix to his significant and scholarly work entitled “Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu”. After quoting various sources and making convincing expositions, with which I need not deal here in detail, he summed it up in the following words:

“Summing up the results of our enquiry: the name Chi-pin is originally unconnected with Kashmir; in the dynastic histories from the 1st century B.C. to the end of the 5th century A.D. it indicates the Indian territories of the great political power of the North-West, whatever it was at the time of writing (Saka, Kushan, Hepththalites); in the Buddhist tradition, from the beginning (2nd century A.D.) till the times of Hsüan-tsang, Chi-pin is Kashmir”.<sup>19</sup>

The translation of the Accounts of *Ki-pin* in the T’ang Annals will, it is hoped, enable the historians and the students of ancient Indian history to express their thoughtful views on the subject.

<sup>18</sup> See Stein’s “Notes on Ou k’ong’s Account of Kashmir”, pp. 26-28,

<sup>19</sup> SCC. p. 79,



## II. TRANSLATION

(*CHIU T'ANG SHU* 198. 10b-12b)

### [ A. 1. INDIA ]

The country of *T'ien-chu*<sup>1</sup> is what was used to be known during the fol. 10b Han period as *Shen-tu-kuo* or the Land of the Brahmins. Situated to the north-west of the *Ts'ung-ling*<sup>2</sup> it has an area of more than thirty thousand *li*. It is divided into Five-Indias.<sup>3</sup> The first is called Middle India, the second is called East India, the third is called South India, the fourth is called West India, and the fifth is called North India. The area of each is several thousand *li*. Cities and towns are some hundreds.

South India is bordered by an ocean. North India is blocked by a snowy mountain.<sup>4</sup> On its four sides there are mountains, which serve as walls. On its south there is a ravine which serves as the gate of this country. On the western boundary of East India there is an ocean, and it meets *Fu-nan*<sup>5</sup> and *Lin-yi*<sup>6</sup> as neighbouring countries. West India is contiguous with *Ki-pin*<sup>7</sup> and *Po-szu*.<sup>8</sup> Middle India, situated as it is, meets the four (regions of) India. Its capital city is more than seventy *li* in circuit. Its northern part touches the *Ch'an-lien*<sup>9</sup> river.

It is said that in ancient times there lived a Brahmin with a thousand disciples under him, who used to study under the trees. Then, the Goddess of the Forest descended there; consequently they became husband and wife. Buildings and houses came up naturally; the boy servants they had were plenty. Thereupon, (they) ordered a hundred Gods to build a city around fol. 11a it and arrange it systematically. This was done in a day.<sup>10</sup>

Afer this, there was one *Ah-yü-wang*<sup>11</sup> who also sent demons and gods to pile up stones to build a palace there. All the decorations and carvings were such that no human efforts could accomplish. *Ah-yü-wang* was very oppressive and cruel in administering his country. He established the system of punishment by pillories and called it hell. Traces (of these pillories) are still to be found in the present city.

The Kings of Middle India are of the *Ch'i-li-chih*<sup>12</sup> family; they are also called *Sha-li*. They have ruled the country for generations without there being any instance of usurpation or murder among them.<sup>13</sup> The land there is low and wet. The climate is very hot. It yields four harvests in a year. There is diamond (in this country) which resembles flour-spar. Smelt hundred times it won't melt. It can cut jades. There are also sandalwood, curcoma longo and other kinds of incense. In the past it had intercourse with the Roman empire.<sup>14</sup> Its precious products sometimes came to *Fu-nan* and *Chiao-chih*<sup>15</sup> for trade.

The people are rich and happy. The common people have no books and



records. Those who till the land that belong to the king pay profit from the land in return (as duty). Teeth-(bordered) cowrie-shells are used as money. The eyes of the people are deep-(set) and their nose long. In order to show extreme reverence they lick the feet and touch the heel. There are extraordinary musicians, skilled singers and dancers in their houses.

The king and the ministers all wear Cashmere brocade. They twist and turn their hair on the head and cut their remaining hair, and practise *Yoga*. The common people all go barefooted. The white colour is favoured for clothes. Only those belonging to the Brahmin caste differentiate themselves by covering with a *kārpash* cloth. Dead are burnt and ashes (of the burnt corpse) are taken to build *stupas* on it, some they abandon in the forest (as a food) for birds and beasts, some are left floating on the river as a food for fish and turtles. They have no code for the observance of funeral ceremonies.

A rebel is imprisoned and executed. When the crime is small, he is to pay a sum as compensation. One who lacks filial piety his arms and legs are amputated, ears and nose cut off, and he is banished beyond the frontier.

There is a script (in this country). They are skilled in the art of astronomy and calculations of calendar. People here all study *Siddha-vastu*—said to be the Laws of Brahma. They keep records on the leaves of *Pei-to*<sup>16</sup> trees. They do not kill living beings, nor do they drink wine. In this country there can always be seen ancient traces of the Buddha.

During the time of Sui Yang Ti,<sup>17</sup> P'ei Chü was sent to *Hsi-fan*<sup>18</sup> to receive the embassies of the countries (in the West). All came. Only India did not respond. The emperor regretted this.<sup>19</sup>

During the period of Wu Te (618) this country was in great confusion. Its new king Shih-lo-yi-to<sup>20</sup> trained troops and assembled the people, who became invincible. The elephants were not unfasten their housings, and the people did not put off their armours. Thus held for six years, the kings of four (regions) of India submitted and became his vassals. His authority extended far; his punishment was severe and administration, fol. 11b very strict.

In the fifteenth year of Chen Kuan (641), Shih-lo-yi-to styled himself as the King of Magadha, and sent an envoy to have an audience (with the emperor) with tribute.<sup>21</sup> T'ai Tsung, in return sent an Imperial letter (with an envoy) inquiring after (Shih-lo-yi-to's) health.<sup>22</sup>

Shih-lo-yi-to was much astonished and asked all the people assembled there, "Is Mahācīnasthāna sending envoys to our country since time immemorial?" They all replied: "There is no precedent." Then (Shih-lo-yi-to) prostrated for a long time and received the Imperial mandate. He then sent an embassy to the Court with tribute. Considering that his country was too far, and that his manners were very generous, T'ai Tsung sent again Li Yipiao under the title of *Wu-Wei-Chang* as an envoy in return. Shih-lo-yi-to sent his Chief Minister outside the city to welcome (the Chinese envoy). All the people of the city and villages gave a spontaneous ovation by burning



incense and standing in rows. (Shih lo-)yi-to led his ministers, and facing the east received with reverence the credentials. He also sent an envoy with presents of red beads, curcuma, long incense and a Bodhi tree to (T'ai Tsung).

In the tenth year of Chen Kuan (636) Śramaṇa Hsüan Chuang reached this country. He returned with more than six hundred manuscripts of *sāstras* and *sūtras* in the Sanskrit language. Formerly, Wang Hsüan-ts'e under the title of *Yu-Shuai-Fu-Chang-Shih* was sent to India as an envoy.<sup>23</sup> All the kings of four (regions of) India sent envoys with tributes to the Court.

Shortly afterwards, the king of Middle India Shih-lo-yi-to died. The country was in great confusion. His vassal Na-fu-ti Ah-lo-na-hsün usurped the throne, and then using all his might despatched the barbarian soldiers to oppose Hsüan-ts'e. With thirty cavalry Hsüan-ts'e resisted the barbarian soldiers, but could not withstand them. His arrows were exhausted and (men) captured. Moreover, these barbarians plundered the tributes and gifts (which Hsüan-ts'e) received from other countries. Then Hsüan-ts'e stood alone and fled in the night. He came to *Tu-fan*,<sup>25</sup> which despatched twelve hundred picked soldiers. The country of *Ni-po-lo*<sup>26</sup> also placed more than seven thousand cavalry under the command of Hsüan-ts'e.<sup>27</sup> Hsüan-ts'e and his Vice-envoy Chiang Shih-jen led the army of the two countries and approached the capital city of Middle India.<sup>28</sup> Fighting continued for three successive days. The damage was heavy. More than three thousand persons were beheaded. Ah-lo-na-hsün left the city and escaped. (Chiang) Shih-jen chased and captured him. The men and women captives numbered twelve thousand, and cows and horses seized numbered thirty thousand head. India was then very much frightened. The prisoner Ah-lo-na-hsün was taken (to China), who reached the capital<sup>29</sup> in the twenty-second year (648). T'ai Tsung was highly pleased, and ordered the department concerned to announce (the victory) in his ancestral temple. He also told the assemblage and his ministers, "When the ears and the eyes of the people are engaged in music and women, mouth and nose indulge in bad taste, then these become the sources of the **fol. 12a** loss of virtue. Supposing this Brahmin had not plundered my envoy, then how could he become a prisoner? In old times, Chung Shan hankered after wealth and thus called trouble for himself; and the Duke of Shu was destroyed due to golden cow. All this happened for the same reason."<sup>30</sup>

Hsüan-ts'e was then appointed *Ch'ao-San-Tai-Fu*. When he was in that country (India) he got a *Fang Shih*<sup>31</sup> *Na-lo-mi-so-pi-min*<sup>32</sup> (by name) who claimed himself to be two hundred years old. It is said that he knew the art of prolonging one's life. T'ai Tsung received him with reverence, and accommodated him inside the *Chin Piao* Gate to make the medicine for prolonging life. Ch'ui Tun-li, the Chief Minister of war, was appointed as the Chief Supervisor. Messengers were sent to (different parts of) the world to collect all kinds of strange medicines and rare stones of an unestimated amount. Months and years passed by; the medicine was prepared. When it was taken (by T'ai Tsung) it failed to give any effect. Afterwards, he was sent back to his own country.<sup>33</sup>



T'ai Tsung was buried at *Chao-ling*. Stone was carved on the model of Ah-lo-na-hsün and was placed in file under the gate of the tomb.

The five (regions of) India have tens of dependent countries. Customs and habits, commodities and products (of these countries) are almost similar.

There is the kingdom of *Kia-mo-lo*.<sup>34</sup> The local custom here is to keep the doors on the eastern side (of the house) open to face the sun. Wang Hsüan-ts'e went there. Its king sent an envoy with tributes of rare pearls, strange things and maps. He further requested him to send a statue of Lao Tzu and his *Tao-te-ching*.

The country of *Na-kie-to*<sup>35</sup> has a city called *Hsi-lo*.<sup>36</sup> Inside the city there is a pagoda of many stories wherein Buddha's sculp and staff have been preserved. In the twentieth year of Chen Kuan (646) it sent an embassy with indigenous products as tribute.

In the second year of T'ien Shou (691), gifts came to the Court<sup>37</sup> from the king of East India Mo-lo-chih-mo,<sup>38</sup> the king of West India Shih-lo-yi-to,<sup>39</sup> the king of South India Cha-lo-ch'i-p'a-lo-po,<sup>40</sup> the king of North India Lou-ch'i-na-na<sup>41</sup> and the king of Middle India Ti-po-hsi-na.<sup>42</sup>

In the fourth year of Ching Lung (710), the kingdom of South India sent again an envoy to the Court. In the first year of *Ching Yün* (710) it sent again an envoy with indigenous products as tribute.

In the second year of K'ai Yüan (714), the king of West India sent again an envoy with tribute of indigenous products. In the eighth year (720), the king of South India sent an envoy to present a five-coloured parrot which could talk. The same year, the king of South India Shih-la-na-seng-kia<sup>43</sup> fol. 12b requested (the emperor) to send war-elephants, arms and horses to fight with Ta-shih,<sup>44</sup> T'u-fan etc. He also sought a name for his army. Hsüan Tsung was highly pleased and named his army as "Virtue-cherished Army". In the ninth month, the king of South India Shih-li-na-lo-seng-kia-pao-to-chih-mo<sup>45</sup> built a temple for his kingdom. He requested (the emperor) for an epithet for the temple. The name "Kuei Hua" (Acquisced Culture) was accordingly granted in a rescript.

In the eleventh month an envoy was sent to appoint Li-na-lo-kia-to<sup>46</sup> as the king of South India.<sup>47</sup> He also sent an envoy to the Court.

In the sixth month of the seventeenth year (729) Tripitaka Seng-mi-to<sup>48</sup> of North India came to present medicine for sudorifics etc.

In the tenth month of the nineteenth year (731), the king of Middle India Yi-sha-fu-mo<sup>49</sup> sent his chief monk to the Court with tribute. In the third month of the twenty-ninth year (741) the Prince of Middle India Li Ch'eng-en<sup>50</sup> came to the Court and was conferred with the title of *Yu-chi Chiang-chün* and then relieved to go back to his own country.

In the middle of T'ien Pao era<sup>51</sup> envoys (from these countries) came successively.



(*CHIU T'ANG SHU* 198. 12b-13b)

[A. 2. KI-PIN]

The country of *Ki-pin*<sup>52</sup> is situated to the south of the *Ts'ung-ling*.<sup>53</sup> It fol. 12b is 12200 *li* from the capital.<sup>54</sup> It was subdued by *Ta-yüeh-chih*.<sup>55</sup>

Its land is hot and damp. Grass and plants do not die under the cover of snow and fog in winter. Its people particularly believe in the laws of the Buddha.

During the time of Sui Yang Ti the (countries) of western region were urged to come.<sup>56</sup> Those came sooner or later numbered more than thirty countries. Only *Ki-pin* did not come. In the eleventh year of Chen Kuan (637) it sent an envoy to present its renowned horses (to the emperor). T'ai Tsung admired his sincerity and bestowed silken garments on him. In the sixteenth year (642) it again sent an envoy to present blankets and a special type of weasel, which had pointed beak and a red tail. It could eat up snakes. One bitten by snake could be cured by its smell and urine passed on the sore.

In the third year of Hsien Ch'ing (658), (the emperor) inquired about the customs of this country. It is said that beginning from its founder-forefather Hsin Po<sup>57</sup> up to the present king Ko-chieh-chih (this ruling house) has already sat on the throne for twelve generations of fathers and sons. In that year the name of this city was changed into *Hsiu-hsien-to-tu*.<sup>59</sup>

At the beginning of Lung Suo era (661-664) its king was authorised to conduct the military affairs of eleven *chou*<sup>60</sup> including *Hsiu-hsien* and was also made the governor of *Hsiu-hsien*.

In the seventh year of K'ai Yüan (719) it sent an envoy to pay homage to the Court and forwarded a bundle of books containing *sūtras* on astronomy, secret and important prescriptions, foreign medicines and products of other kinds. (The emperor) issued a mandate appointing its king as *Ko-lo-ta-chih-t'e-lo*.<sup>61</sup>

In the twenty-seventh year (739) its king Wu-san-t'e-lo-sa<sup>62</sup> sent a memorial (to the emperor) seeking permission to abdicate in favour of his son Po-lin-ki-po due to old age. This was granted. As usual, an envoy was sent with the order of the appointment.

In the fourth year of T'ien Pao (745), (the emperor) again appointed fol. 13a his son Po-fu-chun<sup>63</sup> to ascend to the throne of *Ki-pin* and *Wu-chang*.<sup>64</sup> He was also conferred with the title of *Tso-Hsiao-Wei Chiang-Chün*.<sup>65</sup>

In the first year of Ch'ien Yüan (758) it again sent an envoy to pay homage to the court.

There is a country (called) *Po-lu*,<sup>66</sup> which lies in between *Ki-pin* and *T'u-fan*. During the period of K'ai Yüan it frequently sent envoys to pay homage to the court and offer presents. In the eighth year (720) its king Su-ling-t'o-yi-chih<sup>67</sup> was appointed as the king of *Po-lu*. Paying homage and tributes did not stop. In the twenty-second year (735) it was smashed by *T'u-fan*.<sup>68</sup>



(*CHIU T'ANG SHU* 84. 6b)

[A. 3. LOKADITYA AND NARAYANASVAMIN]

There was one barbarian monk Lu-kia-yi-to<sup>69</sup> fol. 6b who was ordered to compound the medicine for prolonging life. When Kao Tsung<sup>70</sup> was about to take it, (his minister) Ch'u Chün trying to dissuade him said, "Birth and death are predetermined. It has never been heard of the Lord of Ten thousand Carriages taking the medicine of an alien regardless of consequences. In the last year of Chen Kuan (650) the emperor ordered the Brahmin monk Na-lo-mi-sa-min to compound the medicine for prolonging life according to the old prescriptions of his country. The barbarian by devising his strange technique and seeking divine plants and mysterious stones, made the medicine after years. The emperor took it, but had no effect at all.<sup>71</sup> When he left this world, the renowned physicians could not even ascertain the reason of it. The popular opinion of the time put the crime on the shoulder of this barbarian. When his punishment by execution was about to be proclaimed it was apprehended that the barbarians might laugh at this; therefore, the law was not implemented. If this be the precedent, why not (Your Majesty) deeply think over it!" Kao Tsung accepted this. But, conferred the title of *Huai-Hua Ta-Chiang-Chün*<sup>72</sup> on Lu-kia-(yi-to); and did not take his medicine.



(HSIN T'ANG SHU 221 [I] 15a-16a)

[B. 1. MAGADHA]

*Mo-kia-t'a*<sup>73</sup> also known by another name *Mo-kia-t'o* was originally a fol. 15a dependent country of Middle India. It is 50 *li* in circuit. The soil (of this country) is good for agriculture. There are varieties of paddy and big grains of rice, which are styled as 'rice offered to big men'.<sup>74</sup>

The king dwells in the city of *Chu-she-chieh-pu-lo*, also called *Chu-su-mo-pu-lo*<sup>75</sup> or the city of *Po-ta-li-tzu*.<sup>76</sup> Its northern part is the back of the *K'o-chia*<sup>77</sup> river.

In the twenty-first year of Chen Kuan (648) it started sending envoys to have relationships with the emperor. It presented *Po-lo* tree<sup>78</sup> which belonged to the category of white willows. T'ai Tsung sent an envoy (to that country) to learn the method of boiling candy (to make sugar) and ordered that sugarcane be grown at *Yang Chou*. When pressed, juice fol. 15b comes out of them, which look like compound medicine. Its colour and flavour is far superior to that grown in the Western Region.

Kao Tsung also sent Wang Hsüan-ts'e to go to the Mahābudhi Monastery of that country and erect a stone-tablet<sup>79</sup> there. Later, Te Tsung presented a bell to the *Na-lan-t'o*<sup>80</sup> Monastery on which he himself engraved letters.

There is a country named *Na-kia*.<sup>81</sup> which is a dependent country. In the twentieth year of Chen Kuan (647) it sent an envoy to pay tribute of characteristic products (of this country).

The country *Wu-ch'a*,<sup>82</sup> another name of which is *Wu-fu-na*, also called as *Wu-chang* lies in South India. The area of the land is 5000 *li*. 600 *li* east of this place is *Po-lu*, and 400 *li* west is *Ki-pin*. Here both mountains and valleys are connected with each other. It produces gold, iron, rush-mas, curcuma longa; paddy is grown once in a year. The people are meek, but cunning, and are versed in interdicting *mantras*. There is no system of punishment by execution in this country. Those who are liable to be executed are released on barren mountains. The suspected criminals are to drink medicine and their urine is examined to judge the gravity of their crime.

There are five cities (in this country). The king dwells in the city of *Shu-meng-nieh-li*, another name of which is *Meng-chieh-li*.<sup>83</sup> On the North-east there is the River *Ta-h'lo*,<sup>84</sup> the old land of *Wu-chang*. In the sixteenth year of Chen Kuan (663) its king *Ta-mo-yin-t'o-ho-ssu*<sup>85</sup> sent an envoy to offer Dragon-head incense.<sup>86</sup> The imperial reply was befitting.

*Ta-shih* meets *Wu-chang* on its eastern part. During the reign of K'ai Yüan it tried to induce (*Wu-chang*). Its (*Wu-chang's*) king alone with two kings of *Ku-tu*<sup>87</sup> and *Chü-wei*<sup>88</sup> were not willing to submit to its (*Ta-shih's*) authority. Hsüan Tsung ordered an envoy to appoint the kings.

The (people of the) country of *Chang-ch'iu-pa* or *Chang-chieh-p'a*<sup>89</sup> were originally of *Hsi-ch'iang*<sup>90</sup> (tribes). They used to dwell among the four



mountains south-west of *Hsi-li*. Afterwards they shifted to the west of the mountains, which was contiguous with East India. The costume of the people (of these two lands) are almost alike. Therefore, it submitted to them. The area of the land will be eight or nine hundred *li*. It raised an army of two thousand persons. There is no city wall. (The people) are well-disposed to rob money of others, merchants suffer for this.

In the twentieth year of Chen Kuan (647) its king Lo-li-to-p'u-kia<sup>91</sup> following (the example of) the *Hsi-li* country sent envoy to pay homage to the court. Hsüan-ts'e, in order to conquer Middle India despatched an army<sup>92</sup> and got merit for that. Since then their tributes were coming regularly.

*Hsi-li* is south-west of *T'u-fan*. It has fifty thousand household. Cities and twons are mostly by the side of torrents and gorges. The males knot their hair and cover themselves with woolen wrappers. The women plait their hair and wear skirts. In matrimony no bethrothal money is paid.<sup>93</sup> Its corns are: good paddy, maize and peas. The dead are cremated in forest, but are not covered with trees. The mourning system (demands) wearing of black apparel, which are left on the completion of a year. (As a punishment) the criminal's feet and nose are cut off.

It was subdued by *T'u-fan*.<sup>94</sup> fol. 16a



(HSIN T'ANG SHU 221 [II] 7b-8a)

[ B. 2. KASHMIR ]

*Ke-shih-mi*, also called *Kia-shih-mi-lo*<sup>95</sup> is 500 *li* north of *Po-lu*. It is fol. 7b 400 *li* in circuit. It is surrounded by mountains; (therefore), other countries are unable to attack it. The king rules (the country) from the city of *Po-lo-hu-lo-pu-lo*.<sup>96</sup> Its west is the bank of the *Mi-na-hsi-to*<sup>97</sup> river. The land is good for agriculture. There is more snow fall, but not so windy.

It produces red beads, curcuma longa, horse of dragon-stock.<sup>98</sup>

The people use woolen wrappers.

Tradition has it, the land was originally a dragon's pool. The dragon shifted elsewhere and the water dried up. The people then came to this place and settled.<sup>99</sup>

At the beginning of K'ai Yüan era it sent an envoy to pay homage to the court. In the eighth year (720) an edict was issued appointing *Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li*<sup>100</sup> as its king. It sometimes presented medicines of the barbarians.

After the death of T'ien Mu,<sup>101</sup> his brother Mu-to-pi<sup>102</sup> ascended to the throne and sent ambassador Wu-lu-to<sup>103</sup> to pay homage to the court. He said, "Since coming into being of this country, it along with its vassals all submitted (to the authority of) *T'ien-K'e-Han*<sup>104</sup> and received his orders to move troops.<sup>105</sup> The country has three kinds of soldiers—elephant-soldiers, horse-soldiers and infantry. The vassals along with the king of Middle India controlled the five routes to *T'u-fan*<sup>106</sup> and restricted entry and exit. The war that was going on constantly brought victory for them. Even if two lacs of soldiers of *T'ien-K'e-Han* go to *Po-lu*, food can be supplied to them. There is also the *Ma-ho-po-lo-to-mo*<sup>107</sup> dragon's pool in this country. A temple for *T'ien-K'e-Han* may be built there, if it is so desired." Thus he begged for his king's appointment. The department of *Hung Lu*<sup>108</sup> translated and reported this to the emperor. It was ordered to give a palace banquet to Wu-lu-to. Various gifts were bestowed on him on this occasion. Mu-to-pi was appointed as the king; since then tributes were coming regularly.

Its dependant countries are of five kinds;<sup>109</sup> they are also well-known. What is called as *Tan-ch'a-shih-lo*<sup>110</sup> has a land of 2000 *li*. It has also a capital city. More than 700 *li* south-east of this place is *Seng-ho-pu-lo*<sup>111</sup> country. Its land is more than 3000 *li*. It also governs the country from a capital city. Going along the mountains for 500 *li* towards south-east there is the country *Wu-la-shih*.<sup>112</sup> Its land is 2000 *li*. It has also a capital city. (The land) is good for agriculture. 1000 *li* south-east (of this place) on the threshold of the mountains is *Ke-shih-mi*. Going south-west for 700 *li* fol. 8a through dangerous pass, there is the (country) *Pan-nu-ch'a*.<sup>113</sup> Its land is 2000 *li*. Again, there is the (country) *Ho-lo-che-pu-lo*,<sup>114</sup> its size is 4000 *li*. It has a capital city. It is mountainous and the land is fertile. The people are brave and courageous. All these five countries have neither any king nor chief.



(HSIN T'ANG SHU 43 [II] 17b-18a)

[B. 3. CHIA TAN'S RECORD ON THE TWO ROUTES FROM  
SOUTH CHINA TO INDIA]

(It is) more than one hundred *li* from *An-nan*<sup>115</sup> to *Feng Chou*<sup>116</sup> fol. 17b through *Chiao-chih*<sup>117</sup> and *T'ai-p'ing*.<sup>118</sup> Again going through *Nan-t'ien*<sup>119</sup> for 130 *li* the *En-lou-hsien*<sup>120</sup> is reached. Then going by water route for 40 *li* *Chung Ch'eng Chou* is reached. 200 *li* after is *To-li Chou*.<sup>122</sup> *Chukuei Chou*<sup>123</sup> is reached after 300 *li*. 400 *li* after is *Tan-t'ang Chou*.<sup>124</sup> All these places are inhabited by aboriginal tribes. Again going for 450 *li* *Yung-pu*<sup>125</sup> of antiquity is reached. The distance (from this place) to *An-nan* by water route is some 1550 *li*. Next 180 *li* (one is to) pass through *Foutung*<sup>126</sup> and *T'ien-ching*<sup>127</sup> mountains. The passage on the mountains is very narrow like corridor. For 30 *li* the space hardly takes a traveller (to pass through it). Two days' walk (will take one) to *T'ang-ch'uang Chou*.<sup>128</sup> After 50 *li* *Lu-su Chou*<sup>129</sup> is reached. Again, to *Lu-wu Chou*<sup>130</sup> it will be 15 *li*. All these places are within the territory of *Ts'uan-man*<sup>131</sup> and *An-nan*.

Again (going for) 83 *li* *T'ang-chih-tun*<sup>132</sup> is reached. Through the city of *Ju-p'ing*<sup>133</sup> going again for 80 *li* *T'ung-ts'ao-shui*<sup>134</sup> river is reached. Again passing through *Nan-t'ing*<sup>135</sup> the river *Ch'ü-chiang*<sup>136</sup> is reached after 160 *li*. It is the land of *Chien-nan*.<sup>137</sup>

Again passing through the *T'ung-hai-chen*<sup>138</sup> (town) and crossing the *Hai-ho-li*<sup>139</sup> river (at a distance of) 160 *li* the *Feng-hsien*<sup>140</sup> district is reached. After 80 *li* is the *Chin-ning-yi*<sup>141</sup> post. This is the land of *Jung Chou*.<sup>142</sup>

Again (going for) 80 *li* the city of *Che-tung*<sup>143</sup> is reached. (It is) 80 *li* (from this place) to the *An-ning*<sup>144</sup> city of antiquity. Again (going) 480 *li* is the city of *Ling-nan*,<sup>145</sup> 80 *li* after is the city of *Pai-yi*,<sup>146</sup> 70 *li* after is the city of *Meng-she*,<sup>147</sup> 80 *li* after is the city of *Lung-wei*,<sup>148</sup> 10 *li* after is the city of *T'ai-ho*,<sup>149</sup> 25 *li* after is the city of *Yang-chü-yang*.<sup>150</sup> It is 300 *li* from the west of the city of *Yang-chü-yang* to the old prefectural city of *Yung-ch'ang*.<sup>151</sup>

Again, crossing the *Nu-chiang*<sup>152</sup> river on the west the city of *Chu-ko-liang*<sup>153</sup> is reached, at a distance of 200 *li*. Towards the south *Lo-ch'eng*<sup>154</sup> fol. 18a is reached, at a distance of 200 *li*.

Again, entering the territory of *Piao-kuo*<sup>155</sup> and passing through (the places inhabited by) eight tribes of *Wang Kung*<sup>156</sup> and others the city of *Hsi-li*<sup>157</sup> is reached, (the distance being) 700 *li*. Again passing through the city of *T'u-mi*<sup>158</sup> after 1000 *li* *Piao-kuo* is reached.

Again, from *Piao-kuo* crossing the *Heishan*<sup>159</sup> mountain on the west the country of *Kia-mo-po*<sup>160</sup> of East India is reached (at a distance of) 1600 *li*. Again crossing the *Kia-lo-tu*<sup>161</sup> river on north-west the country of *Pen-na-fa-tan-na*<sup>162</sup> (is situated at a distance of) 600 *li*. Again up to country of *Ke chu-wen-lo*<sup>163</sup> on the southern bank of the river *Heng-ho*<sup>164</sup> and in



the eastern boundary of Middle India (the distance) will be 400 *li*. Again, 600 *li* towards the west the country of *Mo-kie-t'o* is reached.

Another route goes from the west of the city of *Chu-ko-liang* to the city of *T'eng-ts'ung*,<sup>166</sup> (the distance being) 200 *li*. Again, 100 *li* towards west *Mi-ch'eng*<sup>167</sup> is reached. Again passing through the mountains on the west the city of *Li-shih-ch'eng*<sup>168</sup> is reached, (at a distance of) 200 *li*. Then crossing the river *Li-shui-lung-ch'uan*<sup>169</sup> on the west the city of *An-hsi*<sup>170</sup> is reached (at a distance of) 200 *li*. Then crossing the river *Mi-no-chiang*<sup>171</sup> on the west the country of *Ta-ch'in Po-lo-men*<sup>172</sup> is reached, (the distance being) 1000 *li*. Again crossing the big mountains on the west the country of *Ke-mo-lu*<sup>173</sup> on the northern boundary of East India is reached, (the distance being) 300 *li*.

Again, (going for) 1200 *li* towards south-west *Pen-na-fa-tan-na* on the north-eastern boundary of Middle India is reached, and it joins with the route that goes from *Paio-kuo* to *Po-lo-men*.<sup>174</sup>



### III. NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup> Refers to India. In Chinese records India has been referred to mainly as "T'ien-chu" and "Shen-tu". Besides, there are other names too. The character *chu* is also pronounced as *tu*.

<sup>2</sup> The Ts'ung-ling mountain refers to the Pamir. Thus, the *C. T. S.* wrongly places India "to the North-west of the Ts'ung-ling". The *H. T. S.* rightly mentions it as "to the South of the Ts'ung-ling."

<sup>3</sup> "*Wu T'ien-chu*" literally, means Five Indias or Indies and refers to five geographical divisions of India. Henceforth *T'ien-chu* is written as India in translation.

<sup>4</sup> The Hindukush.

<sup>5</sup> Cambodia.

<sup>6</sup> Champā.

<sup>7</sup> Kashmir. See the Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Persia.

<sup>9</sup> The Ganges.

<sup>10</sup> I could not find any source for this legend.

<sup>11</sup> Aśoka-rāja.

<sup>12</sup> Kshatriya. This record clearly mentions Middle India only, but Stan. Julien writes as "The Kings of India . . .", which appears to be not correct. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 9, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Chang Hsing-lang observes that Liu Hsü's record on this aspect was based on hearsay, as there are instances of frequent changes of dynasties in Indian history; *CHCTSL*, vol. 6, p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> *Ta Ch'in*.

<sup>15</sup> Cochin-China.

<sup>16</sup> Tālapatra (Palm leaves).

<sup>17</sup> Emperor Yang Ti (605) of the Sui Dynasty (589-618).

<sup>18</sup> The *H. T. S.* writes *hsi-yü*, Western Region.

<sup>19</sup> Stan. Julien's translation runs as follows: "Yang-ti, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (605 A.D.), having formed the project of entering into relations with the Si-yu (the countries to the West of China), sent Fei-to to induce the Si-fan (Tibetans) and other people to pay homage to him. Many princes responded to his appeal; those of India being only ones who refused to enter into relations with him. Their refusal irritated him very much." (See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 9, pp. 18-19). The word *ying-chieh* has been translated by him as "to induce", which I think is not correct. *Si-fan* (*Hsi-fan*) also does not refer to Tibet. Moreover, the name of Fei-to (*P'ei Tu*) has been misquoted in his translation. The fact is that Sui Yang Ti sent two persons—*P'ei Chü* and *P'ei-tu*—to contact the foreign countries to the west of China. *P'ei Tu* could not reach the destination, but *P'ei Chü* reached a place called *Chang-yi* in modern Kansu province of China. Stan. Julien



further translates the word *hen* 恨 in the sense "to irriate"; but, I think this word should be translated as "to regret". Julien translates the word in the former sense which is derived from his mistranslation of the word *ying-chieh*.

<sup>20</sup> Śīlāditya: Harsha-var dhana.

<sup>21</sup> The chinese character for this word is *kung* 貢, and that for gifts is *hsien* 獻. The Chinese emperors used to take customary presents coming from foreign rulers as "tribute" from a vassal state most probably because they considered themselves as Supreme Rulers. Emperor Tai Tsung styled himself as *T'ien K'e Han* (The Supreme Ruler of the Universe).

<sup>22</sup> The C. T. S. writes *wei-wen* which means "to inquire after one's health". The H. T. S. *wei-fu* which means "to pacify, to soothe".

<sup>23</sup> Vice-Admiral of the Right Brigade.

<sup>24</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>25</sup> Tibet.

<sup>26</sup> Ni-po-lo: Ni-po-erh: Nepal.

<sup>27</sup> The H.T.S. mentions that Wang Hsüan-ts'e came "to the western border of Tibet" and "Summoned the army of the neighbouring countries..."

<sup>28</sup> The H.T.S. mentions the name of the place as *Ch'a-pu-ho-lo*. See the Introduction.

<sup>29</sup> *Ch'ang-an*.

<sup>30</sup> See to H.T.S.

<sup>31</sup> A thaumaturge or a Tāntrik.

<sup>32</sup> Prof. Feng Ch'eng-chün thinks that it should be read as Na-lo-yen-sa-po-min or Nārayanasvāmin. See CHUB, December, 1933.

<sup>33</sup> It is also said that Nārayanasvāmin died at *Ch'ang-an* on his way back home. Also see: Translation A. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Kia-mo-lo: Kia-mo-lo-po: Kāmarūpa.

<sup>35</sup> Prof Chang Hsing-lang thinks that it should be read as *Na-kie-lo* or Nagarkot—modern Jālālābād.

<sup>36</sup> Hilla or modern Hidda.

<sup>37</sup> The grammatical construction of this sentence does not indicate that *all* these kings personally went to the Chinese emperor's court to offer gifts. For records on exchange of envoys between India, *Ki-pin*, Kashmir and China see Additional Notes.

<sup>38</sup> Dr. P. C. Bagchi thinks that the person may be Malavarman: See Sino-Indian Studies, vol. 1, part 2.

<sup>39</sup> Dr. P. C. Bagchi thinks that the person referred to here is Śīlāditya III of Valabhi.

<sup>40</sup> Chalukya-Vallabha (Shri-prithivi-vallabha—the Chalukya king Vinayaditya ?).

<sup>41</sup> ?

<sup>42</sup> Devasena ?

<sup>43</sup> Śrī Narasinha ?

<sup>44</sup> The Arabs.



<sup>45</sup> Śrī Narasima Potavarman; see Sino-India Studies, vol. 1, part 2.

<sup>46</sup> ?

<sup>47</sup> The Chinese envoy most probably attended the coronation ceremony of the Prince mentioned in the Text.

<sup>48</sup> Sanghamitra ?

<sup>49</sup> Yaśovarman sent his minister—a Buddhist monk Buddhasena by name; see Sino-Indian Studies, vol. 1, part 2, p. 71.

<sup>50</sup> The name was given by the Chinese emperor Hsüan Tsung. It is interesting to note that the family name of the T'ang rulers was *Li*. The Chinese emperor by giving the same surname to a son of an Indian king took him as belonging to the same family. Such honour has seldom been shown to a kingly family of a foreign country.

<sup>51</sup> 742-756.

<sup>52</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>53</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>54</sup> *Ch'ang-an*.

<sup>55</sup> Greater *Yüeh Chih*.

<sup>56</sup> Also see note 19 above.

<sup>57</sup> ?

<sup>58</sup> ?

<sup>59</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>60</sup> It may mean a region or an administrative unit.

<sup>61</sup> ?

<sup>62</sup> ?

<sup>63</sup> ?

<sup>64</sup> Udyāna.

<sup>65</sup> "The Brave General Guarding the Left".

<sup>66</sup> Bolor: Baltistan. See Watters, pp. 239-240(I).

<sup>67</sup> ?

<sup>68</sup> This statement suggests that *Ki-pin* entered into war with Tibet and was conquered by the Tibetan army. The date of incident has been placed in A.D. 735.

<sup>69</sup> Lokāditya. It is recorded in Wang Hsüan-ts'e's biography that immediately after taking back with him the monk Hsüan Chao from India, Wang was again sent to Kashmir to bring with him "the Brahmin Lo-kia-yi-to to China." See CHB, p. 21. Also Sino-Indian Studies, vol. 1, part 2, p. 81.

<sup>70</sup> The T'ang Emperor Kao Tsung who ascended the throne in A.D. 650.

<sup>71</sup> See p. 11 of the translation.

<sup>72</sup> "The Great Military Commander Cherishing China."

<sup>73</sup> Magadha: It has been transcribed in Chinese records mostly as "*Mo-kie-t'a* or *Mo-kie-t'o*."

<sup>74</sup> Literal translation of the term—a special kind of rice offered to kings or noblemen 大人米 'Mahāśāli rice'; see Life, p. 109.

<sup>75</sup> Kusumapura. The second transcription is more faithful to the original sound. The word *chieh* in the first transcription seems to me as miscopying.



<sup>76</sup> Pāṭaliputra.

<sup>77</sup> K'o-chia: K'o-kia: K'o(n)kia: Ganga.

<sup>78</sup> The jack fruit tree.

<sup>79</sup> See Sylvain Lévi's article in JA IX Sr. (1900).

<sup>80</sup> Nālandā.

<sup>81</sup> Abbreviated form of Nagarahara.

<sup>82</sup> *Wu-ch'a*, *W'u-fu-na* and *Wu-chang* all these names refer to Udyāna.

The word *fu* in *Wu-fu-na* is a mistake. Moreover, this record wrongly locates this place "towards the south of *T'ien-chu*". It should be "towards north of *T'ien-chu*". The next statement placing *Po-lu* "east of this place" clearly proves the mistake as regards location of *Wu-chang*, as *Po-lu* is Bolur or Baltistan which is in the northern part. The two characters *Wu-ch'a* and *Wu-t'u* look similar. Also see Watters; p. 225; THY, p. 1779.

<sup>83</sup> Manglaur.

<sup>84</sup> Darel river.

<sup>85</sup> Ta-mo-yin-t'o-k'o-ssu?

<sup>86</sup> *Lung-nao hsiang*.

<sup>87</sup> Ku-tu: Ku-tu-lo-kuo: Khotal kingdom.

<sup>88</sup> Chü-wei: Chü-ho-yen-na: Kauayana.

<sup>89</sup> Chang-ch'iu-pa, Chang-chieh-pa: Sikkim. See THY, p. 1781.

<sup>90</sup> Tribes in West China.

<sup>91</sup> Lolityapragna?

<sup>92</sup> The H.T.S. says that Wang Hsüan-ts'e fled "to the western border of Tibet" after his encounter with the army of Ah-lo-na-hsün. This record substantiates the fact that he despatched an army from this place. Moreover, note the next statement about the location of *Hsi-li* which is also placed on the south-west of Tibet. See THY, p. 1781.

<sup>93</sup> *Hun-en pu yi ts'ai-p'in* (see Text B. 1. m 6-11); literally, it would mean "In marriage wealth is not used to betroth."

<sup>94</sup> It suggests that this place was subsequently occupied by Tibet.

<sup>95</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>96</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>97</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>98</sup> *Lung chung ma* may indicate a special kind of horse found in this part of the world. It may also refer to what is known as "renowned horse" mentioned in other Chinese records.

<sup>99</sup> See Watters, Chapter VIII.

<sup>100</sup> Chandrapida.

<sup>101</sup> ?

<sup>102</sup> Mu-to-pi: Muktapida, or Lalitāditya; see Stein: Ancient Geography of Kashmir, p. 17.

<sup>103</sup> ?

<sup>104</sup> See note 21 above.

<sup>105</sup> *Shou tiao fa* may mean "to accept the authority of the emperor."

<sup>106</sup> The Chinese traveller Ou K'ung knew only of one route from



Kashmir to Tibet. Discussing about different routes Stein says, "In the east a road leads to Tou-fan or Tibet, in the north there is a route which reaches into Poliu or Baltistan; the road which starts from 'the western gate' goes to K'ien-to-lo or Gandhara... The third route can be no other than the route which leaves the valley by the gorges or Barmula and follows the Vitasta in its course to the west... Besides these three roads Ou-K'oung knew yet a fourth. 'This, however, is always closed and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit.' It is possible that the curious notice must be referred to one of the roads leading over the Pir Pantsal range to the south. Owing possibly to political causes these routes may have been closed to ordinary traffic at the time of Ou-K'oung's visit." See Stein: *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p. 19.

<sup>107</sup> Mahapadma Naga or Volur Lake; see Stein: *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p. 19.

<sup>108</sup> This office was to look after gifts and tributes coming from foreign countries.

<sup>109</sup> *Wu chung*. I would like to take it that this statement wanted to mention also the number of vassal states under Kashmir. The word *chung* most probably was not intended to show the different status of these subordinate states.

<sup>110</sup> Tan-ch'a-shih-lo: Ta-ksha-shih-lo: Takshaśilā.

<sup>111</sup> Simhapura.

<sup>112</sup> Wu-la-shih: Urasa. "Its greatest part is comprised in the British district of Hazara between the Vitasta and Indus." See Stein: *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p. 130. See Watters, pp. 256-257 (I).

<sup>113</sup> Pan-nu-ch'a: Parnootsa; it "corresponds to the present Punch or Prunts (the Kashmira form) in the lower valley of the Toni (Skr. Tansi)." See Stein: *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p. 129. See Watters, pp. 283-284 (I).

<sup>114</sup> Ho-la-che-pu-lo: Harshapura: Rājapura? See Watters, p. 284 (I).

<sup>115</sup> In present province of *Kuei-chou*. 180 li north-west of *Nan-lung hsien*. See CKTMT, p. 235.

<sup>116</sup> It is located in the eastern boundary of *An-nan*; CKTMT, p. 290.

<sup>117</sup> See note 15 above.

<sup>118</sup> The present *Haifang* in North Vietnam.

<sup>119</sup> ?

<sup>120</sup> In the present province of *Yün-nan*.

<sup>121</sup> In *An-nan*; see CKTMT, p. 356.

<sup>122</sup> In *Szu-ch'uan* ?

<sup>123</sup> ?

<sup>124</sup> Prof. Pelliot thinks it refers to *Kan T'ang Chou*, p. 140.

<sup>125</sup> The present position of the place cannot be correctly ascertained. According to Pelliot the *Man Shu* mentions a place of the name *Chia Yang-pu*.

<sup>126</sup> The *Fou-tung* mountain may refer to the high plateau off the place called *Young-pu* and near south-west of *Meng-tzu*.



<sup>127</sup> Literally "the Hanging Mountain"; its position, too, being the same place as mentioned in note 126 above.

<sup>128</sup> It is mentioned in CTS (chüan 41) as belonging to *T'ang Ch'uan* district under *T'ang Chou*. But this place falls within the present *Kuang-hsi* province. CKTMT locates it in *An-nan*, p. 596.

<sup>129</sup> In *An-nan*?

<sup>130</sup> In *An-nan*, see CKTMT, p. 1107.

<sup>131</sup> *Ts'uan-man* refers to the so-called 'savage' people inhabiting south-west of China. Pelliot says, "From this it can be seen that *An-nan Tu-hu Fu* territory situated at the northern boundary of present *Tung-ching*. At that time *Yün-nan* was not yet made a province. Its south-eastern part was under the control of *An-nan Tu-hu Fu*. Its north-eastern part belonged to *Hsü-chou* of present *Szu-ch'uan* (province)"; see Pelliot, p. 142.

<sup>132</sup> ?

<sup>133</sup> ?

<sup>134</sup> The name of a river.

<sup>135</sup> In *An-nan*, see CKTMT, p. 107.

<sup>136</sup> Prof. Chang Hsing-lang gives the following note: "It goes following the course of *Fu-liang* river, and passes beyond *An-nan*... In the south of *T'ung-hai hsien*".

<sup>137</sup> One of ten administrative divisions of China. It included the whole province of *Szu-ch'uan* and the north-east of present *Yün-nan* province, the south-east part of what was included in *Lin-nan* division. See Pelliot, p. 142.

<sup>138</sup> The present *T'ung-hai* district in *Yün-nan*, see CKTMT, p. 909.

<sup>139</sup> The exact position is not yet determined. Both Prof. Chang Hsing-lang and Pelliot think that it may be a small river between *Tse-li hu* and *Hsing-yün hu* lakes.

<sup>140</sup> To the east of present *Chiang-ch'uan hsien*, see Pelliot, p. 144.

<sup>141</sup> Pelliot says, "It is in the meeting place of *Chiang-ch'uan* with the boundary of the province of *K'un-ming*"; p. 144.

<sup>142</sup> In between *Hsü-chou* and *Lu-chou* of the *Szu-ch'uan* province, see CHCTSL, p. 108.

<sup>143</sup> "*Che-tung* is in the border of *K'un-ming* province; the ancient name of it was *K'un-chou*, and was under the control of *Jung-chou Tu-tu Fu*... From *Che-tung* to *Ho-nei* it is thirty nine days' journey". See Pelliot, p. 145.

<sup>144</sup> The present *An-ning* district of *Yün-nan*. It is said that "it is altogether forty days' journey from *An-ning* to *Ho-nei*" (Man Shu). This reference shows the discrepancy in counting the actual distance.

<sup>145</sup> Both Pelliot and Chang Hsing-lang think that the character *ling* has been miscopied, it should be *Yün* for *Yün-nan*.

<sup>146</sup> In *Yün-nan* province to the west of *Nan-hsiang-yün hsien*; see CKTMT, p. 684; according to Chang Hsing-lang it is the present *Pai-yai-yi* post, p. 108; Pelliot says, "*Pai-yai* is also written as *Pai-yen* ... Now 60 *li* east of *Chao Chou* (present *Feng Yi*)"; p. 146.

<sup>147</sup> "It is the old city lying 15 *li* to the north of present *Meng-hua*".



See Pelliot, p. 146.

<sup>148</sup> Pelliot thinks that the pass below *Erh Hai* had the ancient name of *Lung-wei*, and the pass above was known as *Lung-shou*. These names may be translated as Dragon's Tail and Dragon's Head respectively. But the exact position cannot be ascertained. See Pelliot, p. 147.

<sup>149</sup> Present *Ta-li-fu*, west of *Erh Hai*.

<sup>150</sup> See Pelliot, p. 148.

<sup>151</sup> Prof. Chang Hsing-lang says, "The prefecture city of *Yung-ch'ang* was founded during the Eastern Han period. During the Ch'ing period it was called *Yung-ch'ang-fu*, and is the present *Pao-shan hsien*;" See p. 109. Pelliot writes, "If one wishes to go to *Yung-ch'ang* he will have to cross first the district bridge of the Mekong river." See Pelliot, p. 148.

<sup>152</sup> To the south of the city of *Yung-ch'ang-fu*.

<sup>153</sup> In present Johore State? See Pelliot, pp. 74-75.

<sup>154</sup> The exact location of this place cannot be ascertained. Prof. Chang Hsing-lang thinks that "it may be placed to the west of *Nu-chiang* river, near the present *T'eng-yüeh*." He further says, "According to present maps, from the *An-ning hsien* in the west of *Chen-ch'ih* one could go towards west to *Ta-li*; going further from *Ta-li* to *Yung-ch'ang*, *T'eng-yüeh* and *Kan-yai* could enter Bhamo of Burma. This was the courier's route. Chia Tan's record mentions of this place. This route must have been used by merchants in remote ancient times for the intercourse between *Chen-tu* and India. The bamboo stick of Kwantung and silk of *Szu-ch'uan* seen by Chang Ch'ien in Bactria must have gone to the West through this commercial route..." See p. 109.

<sup>155</sup> Burma. See THY, pp. 1794-1795.

<sup>156</sup> *Wan-kung*: *Meng-kung*, on the western bank of *Man-li-k'ai* river. There is also the river *Meng-kung* which is an affluent of *Man-li-k'ai*. See CHCTSL, p. 109.

<sup>157</sup> ?

<sup>158</sup> ?

<sup>159</sup> Must be indicating the mountain ranges west of Burma and bordering East India.

<sup>160</sup> See note 34 above.

<sup>161</sup> Pelliot identifies it with the river Krateya; p. 149. Prof. Chang Hsing-lang identifies it with Brahmaputra or *Ya-lu-tseng-pu* river. See CHCTSL, p. 110.

<sup>162</sup> *Pundravardhana*; see Watters, p. 184(II).

<sup>163</sup> *Kajangala*?

<sup>164</sup> The Ganges.

<sup>165</sup> See note 73 above.

<sup>166</sup> Present *T'eng Heng* city. During the Ch'ing period it came to be known as *T'eng-yüeh*. See CHCTSL, p. 110.

<sup>167</sup> ?

<sup>168</sup> ?



<sup>169</sup> Irawadi ?

<sup>170</sup> ?

<sup>171</sup> According to Prof. Chang Hsing-lang it refers to *Man-li-k'ai* river; see CHCTSL, p. 110.

<sup>172</sup> Pelliot identifies it with Manipura; but Prof. Feng Ch'eng-chün identifies it with *Dakshina-Bharata*, (South India). See CHB, p. 9.

<sup>173</sup> See note 34 above.

<sup>174</sup> Brahmana, i.e. India.



## ADDITIONAL NOTES

### I. WANG HSÜAN-TS'E

Wang Hsüan-ts'e visited India for the first time in the third month of A.D. 643, with Li Yi-piao as the Chief Envoy and himself as the Vice-envoy. Wang's second visit to India took place in A.D. 648. In A.D. 657, Wang again visited India.

About Wang Hsüan-ts'e's first visit to India, *Fo-tsu T'ung-chi* (A Chronicle of Buddhism), book 39 has the following account:

"In the seventeenth year of Chen Kuan (643), Li Yi-piao of the Department of Military Supply and Wang Hsüan-ts'e, the Magistrate of Huang Shui district, were sent as envoys to the Western Region. (After) wandering numerous countries they reached the house of Wei-mo (Vimalakīrti) in the north-eastern part of Pi-li-yu (Vaiśālī). Hsüan-ts'e measured the room with his hand which came to ten cubits square. On their way back they mounted the Gridhrakūṭa mountain and inscribed there a tablet recording the grandeur and virtues of the T'ang (Emperor)."

*Shih-chia Fang-chih* (Second Part) has also the following record:

"...Recently our envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'e measured (Vimalakīrti's room) with his emblem. It was ten cubits square. This is the reason how (the term) *fang chang* came into being". (*Fang chang* came to be applied to rooms where the head priests lived).

Wang Hsüan-ts'e's Indian Campaign took place during his second visit. About his third visit to India we come to know that Wang on return home praised before the Emperor about the Chinese monk Hsüan Chao's "honesty and virtues". The Emperor then instructed Wang Hsüan-ts'e "to go to *Hsi T'ien* (Western Heaven, i.e. India) and bring back Hsüan Chao to the capital."

Lévy also holds that Wang Hsüan-ts'e visited India for the fourth time in A.D. 663. (See T'oung Pao, 1911). ..

### II. RECORDS ON EXCHANGE OF ENVOYS BETWEEN INDIA, KI-PIN, KASHMIR AND CHINA

#### a. INDIA AND CHINA

In the third month of the third year of *Hsien Heng* (672), South India sent presents of characteristic products (of that country). (*Ts'e-fu-kuei*, book 970).

In the third month of the third year of *T'ien Shou* (692) there came (envoys) from the King of East India Mo-lo-fa-mo (Malavarman), the King of West India Shih-lo-yi-to (Śīlāditya), the King of South India Che-lou-k'e-



fa-io, the King of North India Na-na, the King of Middle India *Ti-mo-hsi-na* (Devasena), the King of *Kuei Ch'e* King Yen Yu who made presents and paid homages to the court. (Ibid.)

In the third month of the second year of *Hsien T'ien* (713), South India sent an envoy to pay homage and tributes. All the barbarian tribes (Hsiung Nu) came to pay tributes. The Emperor's father gave them an audience at the *Gate of Men-lou*. (Ibid., 971).

In the eighth month of the second year of *K'ai Yüan* (714). West India sent an envoy with presents of characteristic products. (Ibid.).

In the second month of the third year of *K'ai Yüan* (715) there came from India an envoy *Ti-t'an-hui-kan* who presented characteristic products (of that country). (Ibid.).

In the first month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* (720), the Middle India sent an envoy to pay homage to the court and present characteristic products (of that country). (Ibid.).

In the first month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* (720), the Middle India sent an envoy to pay homage to the court. (Ibid.).

In the fifth month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan*, the South India sent an envoy and offered a panther, a five-coloured parrot, and a talking-bird. (Ibid.).

In the eighth month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan*, on the day of *Ting Ch'ou*, (an envoy) sent by the King of South India paid homage under the *Gate of Chung Shu*. The envoy was sent back after treating him well; by the Imperial order this was quite satisfactory. He was then endowed with presents of brocaded cloak, gold-girdle, a satchel ornamented with fish (motifs?) and seven other indispensable items. All were sent. (Ibid. 974).

In the eleventh month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan*, the King of South India sent envoy to pay homage to the court. (Ibid. 971).

In the eleventh month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* an envoy was sent with the Imperial order appointing the King of South India *Shih-li-na-lo-seng-kia-pao-to-pa-mo* (Śrī Narasīma Potavarman) as the King of South India. (Ibid. 964).

In the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* the King of South India *Shih-li-na-lo-seng-kia* made requests for war-elephants and an army to fight the Arabs and the Tibetans etc. He also sought a name for his army. The Emperor was highly pleased and named the army as "Virtue-cherish Army." (Ibid. 973 and 995).

In the seventh month of the thirteenth year of *K'ai Yüan* (725), on the day of *Ting* and *Chu*, the country of Middle India sent an envoy to pay homage to the court. (Ibid. 871).

In the sixth month of the seventeenth year of *K'ai Yüan* (729), *Tripiṭaka Śramaṇa Seng-mi-to* (Sanghamitra) of North India presented sudorifics and such other medicines. (Ibid.).

In the eleventh month of the eighteenth year of *K'ai Yüan* (730), the



country of Middle India sent an envoy to pay tributes to the court. (Ibid.).

In the tenth month of the nineteenth year of *K'ai Yüan* (731), the King of Middle India *Yi-sha-fu-mo* (Yaśovarman) sent his minister the Great Virtuous Monk *Po-ta-hsin* (Buddhasena, see Note 49) to pay homage to the court and present characteristic products (of that country). (Ibid.).

In the fourth month of the twentyfifth year of *K'ai Yüan* (937), *Tripitaka Maha Pragña Sangha Ta-mo-chan*(?) came to court and presented medicines of the barbarians, *pei-szu-pi-chih* etc., new incantation methods, various discourses on *Sūtras* in Sanskrit, discourses on rules governing the state (*Kautilya's Artha-śāstra*?). Sanskrit version of books on astronomy, and other miscellaneous products. (Ibid.).

In the third month of the twentyninth year of *K'ai Yüan* (741), the Prince of the country of Middle India *Li Ch'eng-en* came to pay homage to the court. (See Note 50). (Ibid.).

In the fifth month of the first year of *Ch'ien Yüan* (758), on the day of Jen and Shen, the King of *K'ien-to-lo* (Gandhāra) sent his envoy, the leading Captain of his army *T'a-hsün-la-t'e-ch'e-pi-shih-yüan-kan*. He was conferred with the title of a General and then allowed to return to his country. (Ibid. 976).

#### b. KI-PIN AND CHINA

In the ninth month of the first year of *Chang Shou* (693), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy to the court to pay tributes. (Ibid. 970).

In the second month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* (720), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy to the court to pay homage. He offered a bundle of books on Astronomy, secret medical prescriptions, and also medicines of the barbarians and other products. (Ibid. 971).

In the ninth month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan*, the country of *Ki-pin* presented good horses. (Ibid.).

In the ninth month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* an envoy was sent (to *Ki-pin*) with the Imperial order appointing *Ke-ta-lo-chih-t'e-le*(?) as the King of *Ki-pin*. (Ibid. 964).

In the tenth month of the twentysixth year of *K'ai Yüan* (738), the King of *Ki-pin* *Wu-san-le-sa*(?) on account of old age made a representation to the Court and requested to establish *Fu-lin-ki-po*, the eldest son by his legal wife, to succeed his throne. This was granted. *Fo-lin-ki-po* then became the King of the country of *Ki-pin*. (Ibid.).

In the third month of the fourth year of *T'ien Pao* (745), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy and presented Persian brocade-carpet for dancing. (Ibid. 971).

In the ninth month of the fourth year of *T'ien Pao*, *Po-chun* (see translation A. 2), the son of the King of *Ki-pin*, was ordered to succeed the throne of his father. The Imperial order said, "In the fourth year of *T'ien Pao*, on the twentysecond day of the ninth month, the Imperial



rescript stated, 'Ah! when tributes are offered (by the countries) in distant places, they must be reciprocated by rich gifts and honours. (You are) faithful and diligent for generations, which are to be praised and publicised. You *Po-chun*, the son of the King of *Ki-pin*, have inherited from the past to be faithful, and you have already exerted yourself to be of utmost sincere; pacify your subordinates, and the two vassal states will be quiet. Inheriting the old position may you pay homages to the Court from (the place) ten thousand *li* (apart). You have remained loyal and not changed; your sincerity is very apparent. The sentiment (of yours) has now reached its zenith, this is deeply admirable. You are hereby ordered by this rescript to inherit as the King of *Ki-pin* and *Wu-chang* countries. As is the practice, you are conferred with the title of the *Brave General Guarding the Right*.' This is hereby dispatched." (Ibid. 965).

In the fifth year of *T'ien Pao* (746), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy to the Court to pay homage and present embroidered carpet for dancing, red salt, black salt, refined salt, olive, sudorifics, thousand-gold-creeper, glass, gold, silver and other products (of that country). (Ibid. 971).

In the sixth month of the seventh year of *T'ien Pao* (748), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy to pay homage and tributes to the court. (Ibid.).

In the third month of the twelfth year of *T'ien Pao* (753), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy and presented characteristic products (of that country). (Ibid.).

In the sixth month of the first year of *Ch'ien Yüan* (758), the country of *Ki-pin* sent an envoy to pay homage and tributes to the court. (Ibid.).

#### C. KASHMIR AND CHINA

In the eighth month of the eighth year of *K'ai Yüan* (720), (the Emperor) sent an envoy with the Imperial order appointing the King of Kashmir *Chen-t'o-pi-li* (Chandrapida) as the King of Kashmir. (Ibid. 964).

On the day of *Hsin* and *Mou* in the third month of the twentyfirst year of *K'ai Yüan* (723), the King of Kashmir *Mu-to-pi* (Muktapida) sent the Great Virtuous Monk *Wu-li-to-nien*(?) to the court to pay homage. As ordered by the Emperor, *Wu-li-to-nien* was accorded with a dinner banquet in the inner palace. He was given five hundred rolls of silk. Several days after, he was allowed to go back to the vassal state. (Ibid. 975).

In the fourth month of the twentyfirst year of *K'ai Yüan*, the Imperial order of the appointment of *Mu-to-pi*, the King of Kashmir, as the King of his own kingdom was made. The Imperial order stated, "In the twenty-first year of *K'ai Yüan*, the order of the year being *Kuei* and *Yu*, fourth month, *Ting* and *Yu*, *Suo*, fifth day, *Hsin* and *Ch'ou*, the Emperor approved and said, 'Oh! You *Mu-to-pi*, the King of Kashmir, for generations you owe allegiance and have submitted (to our authority); and in spite of distance that apart us, you have expressed sincerity and steadfastness. You observe the Rite by sending tributes; as a distant vassal state of ours you



have been favoured with our trust. Time has (the demand) that the new should replace the old; your elder brother has died and you have now succeeded him. Protect the hills and streams in your territory, lead your subjects ably. The country must have a system, simplicity should preferably be the common usage. Won't you do your best (to achieve it)? Now (I) order you to be the King of Kashmir. Accept the order of appointment respectfully.' This is hereby dispatched." (Ibid. 964).



# TEXTUAL APPENDIX







## 1. ARRANGEMENTS OF CHINESE TEXTS

The Chinese texts of the *Chiu T'ang Shu* have been arranged in this appendix in the order as they appear in chapter II (Translation). The accounts of India and *Ki-pin* in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, which have not been translated in the preceding chapter, have been placed before and after the text on Magadha respectively. But, additional information on India and *Ki-pin* mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* but not in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* have been translated in the 'Textual Notes' in appropriate places.

The following is the order of Chinese texts:

### A. *Chiu T'ang Shu chüan* 198

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. T'ien-chu                               | fol. 10b—12b            |
| 2. Ki-pin                                  | fol. 12b—13a            |
| 3. Records on Nārayana-sāmin and Lokāditya | fol. 6b <i>chüan</i> 84 |

### B. *Hsin T'ang Shu chüan* 221 (I)

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| I. T'ien-chu   | fol. 13b—15a                      |
| 1. Mo-kie-t'a  | fol. 15a—16b                      |
| II. Ki-pin   | fol. 16a <i>chüan</i> 221 (I)     |
| 2. Ke-shih-mi  | fol. 7b—8a <i>chüan</i> 221 (II)  |
| 3. Chia Tan's Record on Two Routes from South China to India | fol. 17b—18a <i>chüan</i> 43 (II) |



—Chinese Text: Chiu T'ang Shu, chüan 198, fol. 10b

A. 1

f e d c b a

天竺國卽漢之身毒國或云婆羅門地也在葱嶺西北周三萬餘里其中分爲五天竺其一曰中天竺二曰東天竺三曰南天竺四曰西天竺五曰北天竺地各數千里城邑數百南天竺際大海北天竺拒雪山四周有山爲壁南面一谷通爲國門東天竺東際大海與扶南林邑鄰接西天竺與罽賓波斯相接中天竺據四天竺之會其都城週迴七十餘里北臨禪連河云昔有婆羅門領徒千人肄業於樹下樹神降之遂爲夫婦宮室自然而立童僕甚盛於是使役百神



—Textual Notes : fol. 10b

# A. 1. India

a to e : TT : "T'ien Chu was contacted during the Later Han (A.D. 25-220). During the Former Han (B.C. 206-A.D. 23) it was known as the country of Shen-tu. It lies to the west of Kao-fu (Kabul) Kingdom of Yüe-chih, towards the south it reaches the West Ocean, towards the east it reaches P'an-k'i (Banga); all belong to Shen-tu. Although the countries vary in size, they are collectively named as Shen-tu. Its capital is (situated) by the side of the Heng-ho (the Ganges), another name of which is Kia-pi-li ho. In the barbarians' tongue the Ling-ching mountain is called as Ch'i-tu-chüeh (Gridhrakuta). The mountain has a stone which looks like a vulture. At that time all (these places) belonged to Yüeh-chih. Yüeh-chih killed its King and established the general and ordered him to rule its people... It is said that the country produces lion, panther, monkey, camel and rhinoceros. There are red beads which look like mica, the colour is brown. The broken ones are as thin as cicada wings. Collected together they look like floating grains of sands. There are diamonds which look like brown quartz... (There are) tortoise-shell, copper, iron, lead, pewter, gold-embroidered brocades, cotton, wool. There are also perfumes like sandalwood, coppers etc. Sugarcane is abundantly grown (in this country). (There are also) jack-fruits, pepper, ginger and black salt...

c12	際	PN 148:f.11b.f15	際
f9	降	PN 148:f.11b.f3	降
f21	童	PN 148:f.11b.c21	童



m l k j i h g f e d c b a

築城以統之經日而就此後有阿育王復役使鬼神累石爲宮闕皆雕文刻鏤  
非人力所及阿育王頗行苛政置炮烙之刑謂之地獄今城中見有其迹焉中  
天竺王姓乞利唾氏或云刹利氏世有其國不相篡弑厥土卑濕暑熱稻歲四  
熟有金剛似紫石英百鍊不銷可以切玉又有旃檀鬱金諸香通於大秦故其  
寶物或至扶南交趾貿易焉百姓殷樂俗無簿籍耕王地者輸地利以齒貝爲  
貨人皆深目長鼻致敬極者舐足摩踵家有奇樂倡伎其王與大臣多服錦罽  
上爲螺髻於頂餘髮剪之使拳俗皆徒跣衣重白色唯梵志種姓披白疊以爲  
異死者或焚屍取灰以爲浮圖或委之中野以施禽獸或流之於河以飼魚鼈  
無喪紀之文謀反者幽殺之小犯罰錢以贖罪不孝則斷手肘足截耳割鼻放  
流邊外有文字善天文算曆之術其人皆學悉曇章云是梵天法書於貝多樹  
葉以紀事不殺生飲酒國中往往有舊佛跡隋煬帝時遣裴矩應接西蕃諸國  
多有至者唯天竺不通帝以爲恨當武德中其國大亂其嗣王尸羅逸多練兵  
聚衆所向無敵象不解鞍人不釋甲居六載而四天竺之君皆北面以臣之威



## —Textual Notes : fol. 11a

d25 to 11 : TT : "It (India) exchanges merchandise on the sea with the Roman Empire and An-hsi."

f:TT: "People are weaker than those of Yüeh-chih."



m l k j i h g f e d c b a

勢遠振刑政甚肅貞觀十五年尸羅逸多自稱摩伽陀王遣使朝貢太宗降璽書慰問尸羅逸多大驚問諸國人曰自古曾有摩訶震旦使人至吾國乎皆曰未之有也乃膜拜而受詔書因遣使朝貢太宗以其地遠禮之甚厚復遣衛尉丞李義表報使尸羅逸多遣大臣郊迎傾城邑以縱觀焚香夾道逸多率其臣下東面拜受勅書復遣使獻火珠及鬱金香菩提樹貞觀十年沙門玄奘至其國將梵本經論六百餘部而歸先是遣右率府長史王玄策使天竺其四天竺國王咸遣使朝貢會中天竺王尸羅逸多死國中大亂其臣那伏帝阿羅那順篡立乃盡發胡兵以拒玄策玄策從騎三十人與胡禦戰不敵矢盡悉被擒胡並掠諸國貢獻之物玄策乃挺身宵遁走至吐蕃發精銳一千二百人并泥婆羅國七千餘騎以從玄策玄策與副使蔣師仁率二國兵進至中天竺國城連戰三日大破之斬首三千餘級赴水溺死者且萬人阿羅那順棄城而遁師仁進擒獲之虜男女萬二千人牛馬三萬餘頭匹於是天竺震懼俘阿羅那順以歸二十二年至京師太宗大悅命有司告宗廟而謂羣臣曰夫人耳目玩於聲



—Textual Notes : fol. 11b

d20-21 縱觀 PN 148:f.12a.14-15 人觀

g22-30 : PN writes 王 (King) before “Ah-lo-na-hsün”.



m l k j i h g f e d c b a

色口鼻耽於臭味此乃敗德之源若婆羅門不劫掠我使人豈爲俘虜耶昔中山以貪寶取弊蜀侯以金牛致滅莫不由之拜玄策朝散大夫是時就其國得方士那羅邇娑婆寐自言壽二百歲云有長生之術太宗深加禮敬館之於金甌門內造延年之藥令兵部尙書崔敦禮監主之發使天下採諸奇藥異石不可稱數延歷歲月藥成服竟不効後放還本國太宗之葬昭陵也刻石像阿羅那順之形列於玄闕之下五天竺所屬之國數十風俗物產略同有伽沒路國其俗開東門以向日王玄策至其王發使貢以奇珍異物及地圖因請老子像及道德經那揭陀國有醯羅城中有重閣藏佛頂骨及錫杖貞觀二十年遣使貢方物天授二年東天竺王摩羅枝摩西天竺王尸羅逸多南天竺王遮婁其拔羅婆北天竺王婁其那那中天竺王地婆西那並來朝獻景龍四年南天竺國復遣使來朝景雲元年復遣使貢方物開元二年西天竺復遣使貢方物八年南天竺國遣使獻五色能言鸚鵡其年南天竺國王尸利那羅僧伽請以戰象及兵馬討大食及吐蕃等仍求有及名其軍玄宗甚嘉之名軍爲懷德軍九



—Textual Notes : fol. 12a

a24-28 , 豈爲俘虜耶 HTS fol.15a.a11-15 Rather come here as  
a captive!

a29 to b19 : not in HTS; see HTS (text) fol.14b.m14 to fol.15a.a15.



A 2

m l k j i h g f e d c b a

月南天竺王尸利那羅僧伽寶多枝摩爲國造寺上表乞寺額勅以歸化爲名  
 賜之十一月遣使冊利那羅伽寶多爲南天竺國王遣使來朝十七年六月北  
 天竺國藏沙門僧密多獻質汗等藥十九年十月中天竺國王伊沙伏摩遣其  
 大德僧來朝貢二十九年三月中天竺王子李承恩來朝授游擊將軍放還天  
 寶中累遣使來

罽賓國在葱嶺南去京師萬二千二百里常役屬於大月氏其地暑濕人皆乘  
 象土宜秔稻草木凌寒不死其俗尤信佛法隋煬帝時引致西域前後至者三  
 十餘國唯罽賓不至貞觀十一年遣使獻名馬太宗嘉其誠款賜以繒綵十六  
 年又遣使獻褥特鼠喙尖而尾赤能食蛇有被蛇螫者鼠輒嗅而尿之其瘡立  
 愈顯慶三年訪其國俗云王始祖馨孽至今曷頡支父子傳位已十二代其年  
 改其城爲修鮮都督府龍朔初授其王修鮮等十一州諸軍事兼修鮮都督開  
 元七年遣使來朝進天文經一夾祕要方并蕃藥等物詔遣冊其王爲葛羅達  
 支特勒二十七年其王烏散特勒灑以年老上表請以子拂菻罽婆嗣位許之



—Textual Notes : fol. 12b

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A2 Ki-pin

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f11-16 “... 12,200 li ...” : HTS fol.16a.b13-17 writes “... 12,000 li ...”

h9-13 “In the eleventh year of Chen Kuan...” HTS fol.16a.d9-14 does not mention the year.

K10-12 “At the beginning of Lung Suo...” HTS fol.16a.i14-16 writes “At the beginning of Shen Lung (705)...”



c      b      a

仍降使冊命天寶四年又冊其子勃匐準爲襲罽賓及烏菟國王仍授左驍衛將軍乾元元年又遣使朝貢又有勃律國在罽賓吐蕃之間開元中頻遣使朝獻八年冊立其王蘇麟陀逸之爲勃律國王朝貢不絕二十二年爲吐蕃所破



—Textual Notes : fol. 13a

a26 to b1-2 “He was also conferred with the title of ‘Brave General Guarding the Left’.” Not mentioned in HTS fol. 16a after b5.



—Chinese Text: Chiu T'ang Shu, chüan 84, fol. 6b

A 3.

f e d c b a

虐無俾作慝謂威刑也洪範曰高明柔克沉潛剛克謂中道也上曰善又有胡  
 僧盧伽阿逸多受詔合長年藥高宗將餌之處俊諫曰修短有命未聞萬乘之  
 主輕服蕃夷之藥昔貞觀末年先帝令婆羅門僧那羅邇娑寐依其本國舊方  
 合長生藥胡人有異術徵求靈草祕石歷年而成先帝服之竟無異効大漸之  
 際名醫莫知所爲時議者歸罪於胡人將申顯戮又恐取笑夷狄法遂不行龜  
 鏡若是惟陛下深察高宗納之但加盧伽爲懷化大將軍不服其藥尋而官名



—Textual Notes : fol. 6b

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### A 3. Lokaditya and Narayanasvamin

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T'ang Hui-yao has the following parallel accounts :

“Li Fan said (to T'ang Hsien Tsung), ‘During the last year of Chen Kuan (650) there was a barbarian monk who came from India to China. He claimed to be able to make medicine for prolonging life. The Emperor believed it and treated him well. The medicine was prepared after several years. Trying it, Emperor Wen fell ill all on a sudden. Gradually (his life) came to an end; the Ministers all knew (the reason) of it. Accordingly, they wanted the barbarian put to death. This was stopped as it was considered that the barbarians might laugh at it. This has been recorded in the national history to serve as a warning.’ ...” (THY, chüan 52, p. 899)

“... At that time (648) came its (India's) thamataurge Na-lo-mi-po-sa-min who claimed himself to be two hundred years old. He said that he knew the technique of prolonging life. The Emperor was very modest towards him and accommodated him in the Chin-piao Gate to prepare the medicine. Ch'ui Tun-li, the Chief Minister of War, was ordered to attend him. Messengers were sent throughout the world to collect strange plants and all sorts of minerals. After several months and years the medicine was prepared. But, it was not effective. Later on he was sent back to his own country.”

(THY, chüan 100, p. 1787)



## B I.

e d c b a

天竺國漢身毒國也或曰摩伽陀曰婆羅門去京師九千六百里都護治所二  
 千八百里居蔥嶺南幅圓三萬里分東西南北中五天竺皆城邑數百南天竺  
 瀕海出師子豹狸橐它犀象火齊琅玕石密黑鹽北天竺距雪山圍抱如壁南  
 有谷通爲國門東天竺際海與扶南林邑接西天竺與罽賓波斯接中天竺在  
 四天竺之會都城曰茶縛和羅城濱迦毗黎河有別城數百皆置長別國數十



—Textual Notes : fol. 13b

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B. I. India

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b5-13 "It is situated to the south of Ts'ung-ling and has an area of 30,000 li" CTS fol. 10b. a14-26 wrongly mentions the situation of India as "to the north-west of Ts'ung-ling."

e6-18 "The capital is called Ch'a-pu-ho-lo city; it lies on the northern bank of the Kia-pi-li river." Not in CTS.



m l k j i h g f e d c b a

置王曰舍衛曰迦沒路開戶皆東嚮曰迦尸或曰波羅奈亦曰波羅那斯其畜  
 有稍割牛黑色角細長四尺許十日一割不然困且死人飲其血或曰壽五百  
 歲牛壽如之中天竺王姓乞利唎氏亦曰刹利世有其國不篡殺土溽熱稻歲  
 四熟禾之長者沒橐它以貝齒爲貨有金剛旃檀鬱金與大秦扶南交趾相貿  
 易人富樂無簿籍耕王地者乃輸稅以舐足摩踵爲致禮家有奇樂倡伎王大  
 臣皆服錦罽爲螺髻於頂餘髮翦使卷男子穿耳垂璫或懸金耳緩者爲上類  
 徒跣衣重白婦人項飾金銀珠纓絡死者燔骸取灰建窆堵或委野中及河餌  
 鳥獸魚鼈無喪紀謀反者幽殺之小罪贖錢不孝者斷手足劓耳鼻徙于邊有  
 文字善步曆學悉曇章妄曰梵天法書貝多葉以記事尙浮圖法不殺生飲酒  
 國中處處指曰佛故跡也信盟誓傳禁呪能致龍起雲雨隋煬帝時遣裴矩通  
 西域諸國獨天竺拂菻不至爲恨武德中國大亂王尸羅逸多勒兵戰無前象  
 不弛鞍士不釋甲因討四天竺皆北面臣之會唐浮屠玄奘至其國尸羅逸多  
 召見曰而國有聖人出作秦王破陣樂試爲我言其爲人玄奘粗言太宗神武



—Textual Notes : fol. 14a

a3 to c5: "(There is) the country of She-wei (Śrāvastī). The country of Kia-mo-lu keeps the doors (of the houses) open towards the east. (The country) called Kia-shih (Kāshī), or called Po-lo-nai, is also called Po-lo-nai-szu (Vārānasi). Among its animals there are (a sort of) cows (with horns) cut short. Their colour is black. The horns are slender and are four (Chinese) feet long and must be cut every ten days, otherwise they suffer and die. People drink its blood; it is said that by so doing they may live for five hundred years, such is the longevity of these cows. . . .

g6-14: "The women use gold, silver, and pearl on the edge of their head-dress. . .

j 11-22: "They (the Buddhists) believe in oath taking and alliance. By the mantras transmitted (by tradition) they are able to invoke the Dragon to cause clouds and rains. . . ."

k8-9: Fu-lin: it is identified with Bethelhem or Byzantium.

See THY p. 1778.

l18 to m30: "The Tang Buddhist Hsüan Chuang went to that country (India). Śilāditya gave him an audience and said, 'In your country a sage person was born who composed a war-song for the Ch'in (Chinese) emperor. I request you to tell me about the person.' Hsüan Chuang briefly stated that (the emperor) T'ai Tsung by his divine valour . . .



平禍亂四夷賓服狀王喜曰我當東面朝之貞觀十五年自稱摩伽陀王遣使者上書帝命雲騎尉梁懷璈持節尉撫尸羅逸多驚問國人自古亦有摩訶震旦使者至吾國乎皆曰無有戎言中國爲摩訶震旦乃出迎膜拜受詔書戴之頂復遣使者隨入朝詔衛尉丞李義表報之大臣郊迎傾都邑縱觀道上焚香尸羅逸多率羣臣東面受詔書復獻火珠鬱金菩提樹二十二年遣右衛率府長史王玄策使其國以蔣師仁爲副未至尸羅逸多死國人亂其臣那伏帝阿羅那順自立發兵拒玄策時從騎纔數十戰不勝皆沒遂剽諸國貢物玄策挺身奔吐蕃西鄙檄召鄰國兵吐蕃以兵千人來泥婆羅以七千騎來玄策部分進戰茶鉢和羅城三日破之斬首三千級溺水死萬人阿羅那順委國走合散兵復陣師仁禽之俘斬千計餘衆奉王妻息阻乾陀衛江師仁擊之大潰獲其妃王子虜男女萬二千人雜畜三萬降城邑五百八十所東天竺王尸鳩摩送牛馬三萬餽軍及弓刀寶纓絡迦沒路國獻異物拜上地圖請老子象玄策執阿羅那順獻闕下有司告宗廟帝曰夫人耳目玩聲色口鼻耽臭味此敗德之



## —Textual Notes: fol. 14b

a1-17: “tranquillized the disorders and put into subjugation the barbarians of the surrounding countries”. The king was delighted and said, ‘Let me then pay homage towards the East.’ . . .

b4-15: “The emperor ordered Yün-chi-wei Liang Huai-ching to lead an embassy to pacify (India) . . .

[e22 to m30: Accounts of Wang Hsuan-ts’e’s Indian Campaign.]

e22 to f21: “In the twenty-second year (648) Wang Hsüan-ts’e, the Chief of the Guards Protecting the Right, was sent (by the emperor) to go to that country (India) as an envoy with Chiang Shih-jen as the Vice-(envoy). Śīlāditya died by the time (the embassy) reached there. . . .

g11 to i11: “Whence they were just left a few scores of cavalry to follow. The fighting resulted in a defeat (for Hsüan-ts’e), all of them were exterminated; the articles offered by different countries as tributes were also plundered. Only Hsüan-ts’e straightened himself and ran away to the western frontier of Tibet and summoned the troops of the neighbouring countries. Tibet responded with one thousand soldiers, and Nepal with seven thousand cavalry. Hsüan-ts’e and a portion (of his army) advanced towards the city of Ch’a-pu-ho-lo and captured it in three days. . . .

i22 to k3: “Ah-lo-na-hsun abandoned the country and fled. He re-assembled his scattered army and went into battle again. (Chiang) Shih-jen captured him and beheaded one thousand persons all told. The remaining people who blocked (the passage) of the Kan-t’o-wei river for the safety of the king’s wife were attacked by (Chiang) Shih-jen who destroyed them totally and captured the king’s wife and the princes. . . .

k15 to m7: “Five-hundred and eighty towns surrendered. The king of Eastern India Shih-chiu-mo (Śrī Kumā [ra]) sent thirty thousand oxen and horses to feed the army, and also bows, swords and precious fringes. The country of Kia-mo-lo presented extraordinary products and a map (of the country) to the emperor; he also requested for a statue of Lao Tzu. Hsüan-ts’e seized Ah-lo-na-hsün and presented him before the emperor. . . .”



B. 1

m l k j i h g f e d c b a

原也婆羅門不劫吾使者寧至俘虜邪擢玄策朝散大夫得方士那邏邇娑婆  
寐自言壽二百歲有不死術帝改館使治丹命兵部尚書崔敦禮護視使者馳  
天下采怪藥異石又使者走婆羅門諸國所謂畔茶法水者出石臼中有石象  
人守之水有七種色或熱或冷能銷草木金鐵人手入輒爛以橐它嚙體轉注  
瓠中有樹名咀賴羅葉如梨生窮山崖腹前有巨虺守穴不可到欲取葉者以  
方鏃矢射枝則落爲羣鳥銜去則又射乃得之其詭譎類如此後術不驗有詔  
聽還不能去死長安高宗時盧伽逸多者東天竺烏荼人亦以術進拜懷化大  
將軍乾封二年五天竺皆來朝開元時中天竺遣使者三至南天竺一獻五色  
能言鳥乞師討大食吐蕃丐名其軍玄宗詔賜懷德軍使者曰蕃夷惟以袍帶  
爲寵帝以錦袍金革帶魚袋并七事賜之北天竺一來朝

摩揭它一曰摩伽陀本中天竺屬國環五十里土沃宜稼穡有異稻巨粒號供  
大人米王居拘闍揭羅布羅城或曰俱蘇摩補羅白波吒釐子城北瀕殽伽河  
貞觀二十一年始遣使者自通于天子獻波羅樹樹類白楊太宗遣使取熬糖



—Textual Notes : fol. 15a

[al-22 (contd.) Wang Hsüan-ts'e's Indian Campaign.]

all-15 Rather come here as captive ! CTS fol. 12a. 24-28

[a23 to h2 : Accounts of Narayanasvamin and Lokaditya.]

c8 to h2 : "There were also messengers who went to all the kingdoms of the Po-lo-men (Brāhmaṇa). It was said, 'The Sacred Water Pan-ch'a comes out of a stone trough; stone statues of men are there to guard it. There are seven kinds of water; some are hot and others cold. (The hot water) dissolves plants and metals; if a man puts his hand into it, it is mutilated at once. (The water) is, (therefore), drawn with camel's skull and poured into a gourd. There is a tree called chü-lai-lo; its leaves are like those of the pear trees. It grows on the slope of a rugged mountain the front of which is guarded by a viper lying in a hollow. One who wishes to collect the leaves shoots arrows aiming the branches, the leaves then fall and are carried off by the birds in their mouth; again, arrows are shot at them and leaves thus obtained.' Such were the sorts of his cunningness. In the end his device was not tried; the emperor commanded (to arrange) his return. He could not go (back home) as he died at Ch'ang-an. In the time of Kao Tsung one Lu-ka-yi-to, an inhabitant of Wu-ch'a in Eastern India, having knowledge of similar art also came (to the court). He was conferred the title of The Great Military Commander Cherishing China....

h5-6 二 年 (two years); PN f. 13a. o17-18 三 年 (three years)

i22 to j22: "The envoy (of South India) said, 'All the barbarians consider it an honour only when they receive (from the emperor) a cloak and a girdle'. The emperor (thereupon) presented him a brocaded cloak, a leather girdle studded with gold, a satchel ornamented with fish (motifs?) and seven other indispensable items. The North India once paid homage (to the court)."

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## B. 1. Magadha

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m l k j i h g f e d c b a

法卽詔揚州上諸蔗拊瀋如其劑色味愈西域遠甚高宗又遣王玄策至其國  
摩訶菩提祠立碑焉後德宗自製鍾銘賜那爛陀祠又有那揭者亦屬國也貞  
觀二十年遣使者貢方物烏茶者一曰烏伏那亦曰烏菴直天竺南地廣五千  
里東距勃律六百里西屬賓四百里山谷相屬產金鐵蒲殖鬱金稻歲熟人柔  
詐善禁架術國無殺刑抵死者放之窮山罪有疑飲以藥視洩清濁而決輕重  
有五城王居術薈利城一曰薈揭釐城東北有達麗羅川卽烏菴舊地貞觀  
十六年其王達摩因陀訶斯遣使者獻龍腦香璽書優答大食與烏菴東鄙接  
開元中數誘之其王與骨咄俱位二王不肯臣玄宗命使者冊爲王章求拔國  
或曰章揭拔本西羌種居悉立西南四山中後徙山西與東天竺接衣服略相  
類因附之地袤八九百里勝兵二千人無城郭好鈔暴商旅患之貞觀二十年  
其王羅利多菩伽因悉立國遣使者入朝玄策之討中天竺發兵來赴有功由  
是職貢不絕悉立當吐蕃西南戶五萬城邑多旁澗谿男子繒東頭衣氍毹婦  
人辮髮短裙昏姻不以財聘其穀宜秔稻麥豆死者葬于野不封樹喪制爲黑



—Textual Notes : fol. 15b

d22-23 蒲殖 PN : fol. 13b. 126-27 蒲陶 (grapes).



—Chinese Text: Hsin T'ang Shu, Chüan 221(I), fol. 16a

## B. II.

l k j i h g f e d c b a

衣滿年而除刑有剛剗常羈屬吐蕃

罽賓隋漕國也居葱嶺南距京師萬二千里而羸南距舍衛三千里王居脩鮮  
 城常役屬大月氏地暑溼人乘象俗治浮屠法武德二年遣使貢寶帶金鎖水  
 精醢頗黎狀若酸棗貞觀中獻名馬太宗語大臣曰朕始卽位或言天子欲耀  
 兵振伏四夷惟魏徵勸我脩文德安中夏中夏安遠人伏矣今天下大安四夷  
 君長皆來獻此徵力也遣果毅何處羅拔等厚齎賜其國并撫尉天竺處羅拔  
 至罽賓王東向稽首再拜仍遣人導護使者至天竺十六年獻褥特鼠喙尖尾  
 赤能食蛇螫者嗅且尿瘡卽愈國人共傳王始祖曰馨孽至曷擯支傳十二世  
 顯慶三年以其地爲脩鮮都督府神龍初拜其王脩鮮等十一州諸軍事脩鮮  
 都督開元七年遣使獻天文及祕方奇藥天子冊其王爲葛邏達支特勒後烏  
 散特勒灑年老請以子拂菻罽婆嗣聽之天寶四年冊其子勃富準爲襲罽賓  
 及烏菴國王乾元初使者朝貢



—Textual Notes : fol. 16a

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## B.II. Ki-pin

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b1-6: "Ki-pin is the country of Sui-ts'ao. ..." The identification of Sui-ts'ao with Ki-pin is a mistake. See THY, p. 1753.

b20 to c1: "In its south at a distance of three thousand li is the (country) of She-wei. The king dwells in Hsiu-hsien city..."

c19 to d20: "In the second year of Wu-te (619) it sent an envoy with tributes of precious girdles, gold locks, (cup for drinking) icicles, vinegar, and big pears like sour dates. In the middle of the reigning era of Chen-kuan it presented renowned horses. T'ai Tsung said to his Chief Minister, 'Since my enthronement I heard it said that the Emperor wished to glorify his army to contain the barbarians in four corners (surrounding countries). It was only Wei Cheng who advised me to cultivate civil virtues to bring peace in China; when there is peace in China the distant people will submit. Now, peace prevails in the world; the rulers and chiefs of the barbarians in the surrounding countries come to present tributes. Such is the vision of (Wei) Cheng.' (The Emperor) conferred the State Title on Ho-ch'u-lo-pa etc., made generous gifts and also asked (their king) to pacify India. When (Ho)-ch'u-lo-pa reached Ki-pin, the King faced towards the east and repeatedly kotowed with reverence. He also sent to India an envoy who was respected by the people. ..."

i14-16 Shen-lung ch'u: see CTS 198:fol. 12b. k10-12.

k20 年, PN fol. 13b. n1 載



—Chinese Text: Hsin T'ang Shu, chuan 221 (II), fol. 7b

B. 2.

j i h g f e d c b a

箇失蜜或曰迦濕彌羅北距勃律五百里環地四千里山回繚之他國無能攻  
 伐王治撥邏勿邏布邏城西瀕彌那悉多大河地宜稼多雪不風出火珠鬱金  
 龍種馬俗毛褐世傳地本龍池龍徙水竭故往居之開元初遣使者朝八年詔  
 冊其王真陀羅祕利爲王間獻胡藥天木死弟木多筆立遣使者物理多來朝  
 且言有國以來並臣天可汗受調發國有象馬步三種兵臣身與中天竺王阇  
 吐蕃五大道禁出入戰輒勝有如天可汗兵至勃律者雖衆二十萬能輸糧以  
 助又國有摩訶波多磨龍池願爲天可汗營祠因丐王冊鴻臚譯以聞詔內物  
 理多宴中殿賜賚優備冊木多筆爲王自是職貢有常其役屬五種亦名國所  
 謂咀义始羅者地二千里有都城東南餘七百里得僧訶補羅地三千餘里亦  
 治都城東南山行五百里得烏刺尸地二千里有都城宜稼穡東南限山千里



—Textual Notes : fol. 7b

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B. 2. Kashmir

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a26 他 , PN fol. 8a. j1 宅



b a

卽箇失蜜西南行險七百里得半斂蹉地二千里又得曷邏閣補羅者其大四  
 千里有都城多山阜人驍勇五種皆無君長云



—Textual Notes : fol. 8a



—Chinese Text: Hsin T'ang Shu, chüan 43 (II), fol. 17b—

## B. 3.

j i h g f e d c b a

安南經交趾太平百餘里至峯州又經南田百三十里至恩樓縣乃水行四十  
 里至忠城州又二百里至多利州又三百里至朱貴州又四百里至丹棠州皆  
 生獠也又四百五十里至古湧步水路距安南凡千五百五十里又百八十里  
 經浮動山天井山山上夾道皆天井間不容跬者三十里二日行至湯泉州又  
 五十里至祿索州又十五里至龍武州皆蠻蠻安南境也又八十三里至儋遲  
 頓又經八平城八十里至洞澡水又經南亭百六十里至曲江劍南地也又經  
 通海鎮百六十里渡海河利水至絳縣又八十里至晉寧驛戎州地也又八十  
 里至柘東城八十里至安寧故城又四百八十里至靈南城又八十里至白崖  
 城又七十里至蒙舍城又八十里至龍尾城又十里至太和城又二十五里至  
 羊苴咩城自羊苴咩城西至永昌故郡二百里又西渡怒江至諸葛亮城二百



—Textual Notes : fol. 17b

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B.3. Chia Tan's Record on Two Routes from South China to India.

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d13-15 天井間 , PN fol. 17b. g3-5 天井間

g16 又 , not in PN fol. 17b. k5

122-24 太河城 , PN fol. 17b. m13-15 大河城



h g f e d c b a

里又南至樂城二百里又入驃國境經萬公等八部落至悉利城七百里又經突旻城至驃國千里又自驃國西度黑山至東天竺迦摩波國千六百里又西北渡迦羅都河至奔那伐檀那國六百里又西南至中天竺國東境恆河南岸羯朱唄羅國四百里又西至摩羯陀國六百里一路自諸葛亮城西去騰充城二百里又西至彌城百里又西過山二百里至麗水城乃西渡麗水龍泉水二百里至安西城乃西渡彌諾江水千里至大秦婆羅門國有西渡大嶺三百里至東天竺北界箇沒盧國又西南千二百里至中天竺國東北境之奔那伐檀那國與驃國往婆羅門路合一路自驪州東二日行至唐林州安遠縣南行經



—Textual Notes : fol. 18a

Accounts of the Routes to India ends in h11.



# TABLE OF THE RULERS OF T'ANG DYNASTY

<i>Dynastic Title</i>	<i>Accession A.D.</i>	<i>Title of Reign &amp; Year of Adoption A.D.</i>
Kao Tsu	618	Wu Te 618
T'ai Tsung	627	Chen Kuan 627
Kao Tsung	650	Yung Hui 650
		Hsien Ch'ing 656
		Lung Suo 661
		Lin Te 664
		Ch'ien Feng 666
		Tsung Chang 668
		Hsien Heng 670
		Shang Yüan 674
		Yi Feng 676
		Tiao Lu 679
		Yung Lung 680
		K'ai Yao 681
		Yung Ch'un 682
		Hung Tao 683
Chung Tsung	684	Szu Sheng 684
Jui Tsung	684	Wen Ming 684
Wu Hou	684	Kuang Chai 684
[The Empress Wu usurped the Throne and adopted the dynastic title of Chou instead of T'ang].		Ch'ui Kung 685
		Yung Ch'ang 689
		Tsai Ch'u 689
		T'ien Shou 690
		Ju Yi 692
		Ch'ang Shou 692
		Yen Tsai 694
		Cheng Sheng 695
		T'ien-ts'e Wan-Sui 695
		Wan-Sui T'ung-t'ien 696
		Shen Kung 697
		Sheng Li 698
		Chiu Shih 700
		Ta Tsu 701
		Ch'ang An 701
Chung Tsung (resumed the Throne)		Shen Lung 705
		Ching Lung 707
Jui Tsung	710	Ching Yün 710
		T'ai Chi 712
		Yen Ho 712
Hsüan Tsung	713	K'ai Yüan 713
		T'ien Pao 742
Su Tsung	756	Chih Te 756
		Ch'ien Yüan 758
		Shang Yüan 760
		Pao Ying 762
Tai Tsung	763	Kuang Te 763
		Yung T'ai 765
		Ta Li 766



<i>Dynastic Title</i>	<i>Accession A.D.</i>	<i>Title of Reign &amp; Year of Adoption A.D.</i>	
Te Tsung	780	Chien Chung	780
		Hsing Yüan	784
		Chen Yüan	785
		Yung Chen	805
Shun Tsung	805	Yüan Ho	806
Hsien Tsung	806	Ch'ang Ch'ing	821
Mu Tsung	821	Pao Li	825
Ching Tsung	825	T'ai Ho	827
Wen Tsung	827	K'ai Ch'ang	836
Wu Tsung	841	Hui Ch'ang	841
		T'ai Chung	847
		Hsien Tung	860
		Ch'ien Fu	874
Hsüan Tsung	847	Kuang Ming	880
Yi Tsung	860	Chung Ho	881
Hsi Tsung	874	Kuang Ch'i	885
Chao Tsung	889	Wen Te	888
		Lung Chi	889
		Ta Shun	890
		Ching Fu	892
Chao Hsüan-Ti (Ai Tsung)	905	Ch'ien Ning	894
		Kuang Hua	898
		T'ien Fu	901
		T'ien Yu	904
		T'ien Yu	905



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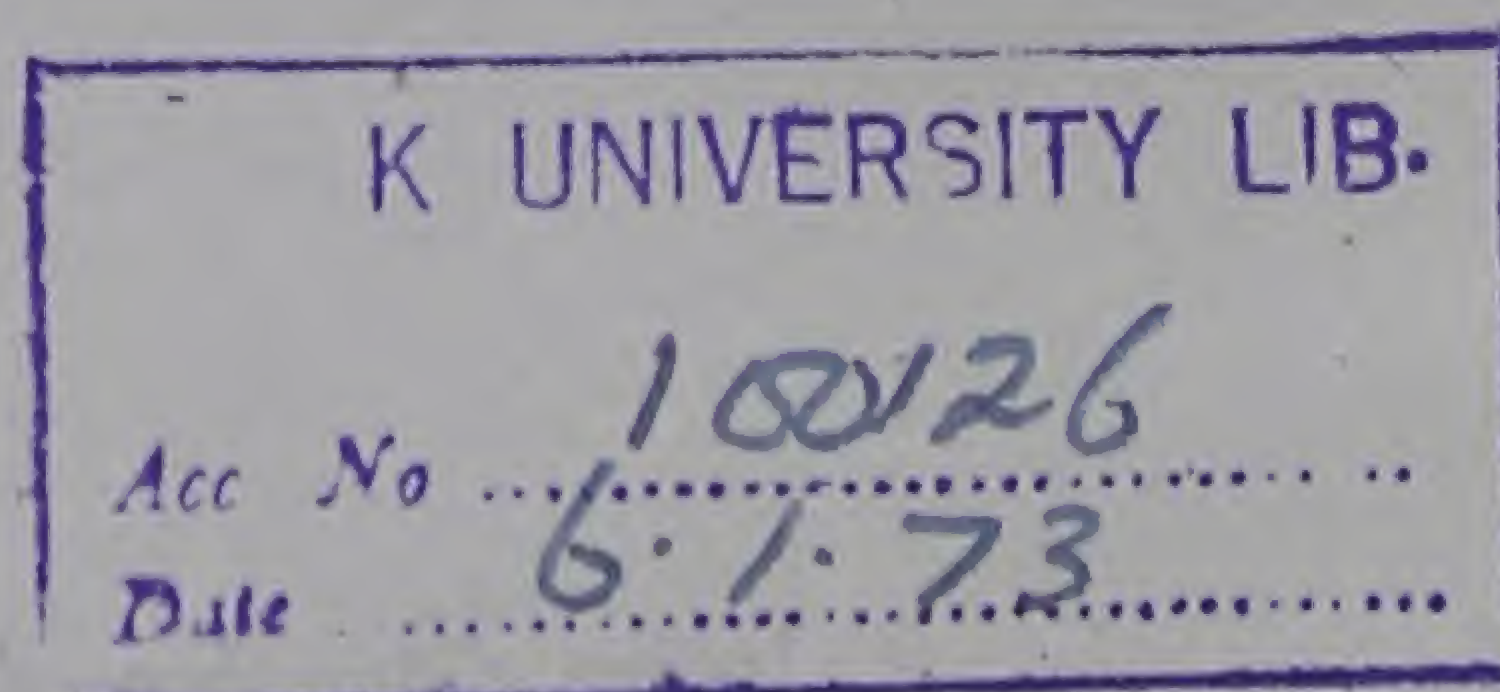


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